

05.2010

The

# INDIGENIST WORLD

Indigenismo Mundial - Indigenismo Mondiale

A Journal of Indigenous Anti-Colonialist Opinion

## The Human Conflict Issue

### Aboriginal News Group:

*Brief Thoughts About a "Random  
American Bombardment"*

### J. B. Gerald:

*Against the killing of Anwar al-  
Aulakqi & others*

### Frantz Fanon:

*Reciprocal Bases of National  
Culture and the Fight for Freedom*

### Prof. Ridwan Laher:

*Leftover Whiteness in South Africa*

### Justice for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women:

*Missing or murdered native women  
list grows to 582*

### Jean-Paul Sartre:

*On Genocide*

*Plus:*

*Indigenous poetry and other enlightening items of  
interest to rational Indigenous people...*





# Against the killing of Anwar al-Aulaqi & others

*Written by J. B. Gerald  
editor of 'Gerald and Maas Night's Lantern'*

## First

"The CIA Hit List" is a media term for selected Muslim men to be murdered as threats to the United States. As President, Bush used the phrase for his list of "terrorist" suspects when the policy was first made public mid-December 2002. Names on the "hit list" surface, then recede so it is hard to be sure who is current. (1)

The Bush announcement, aware of prohibitions against assassinations in the executive orders of former presidents, designated the suspects as "enemy combatants" to avoid a direct confrontation with the laws of war (LOW) aka laws of armed conflicts (LOAC), which are binding on the U.S.(2). Media reports of Dennis Blair, the Director of National Intelligence, in testimony to the House Intelligence Committee February 3, 2010, make no mention of "enemy combatants" when he reserves the right to include American citizens as targets for murder.(3) Then on April 6, 2010 a spokesman for the intelligence community announced that Anwar al-Aulaqi, a Muslim cleric and American citizen is added to the CIA hit list.(4) The imam is known for his statements of faith on the internet. Because he is an American citizen Presidential approval was required for the death command. But more importantly, al-Aulaqi is a civilian.

To quote the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,(5) signed and ratified by the U.S. and now part of the Laws of War,(6)

"In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court.

"When deprivation of life constitutes the crime of genocide, it is understood that nothing in this article shall authorize any State Party to the present Covenant to derogate in any way from any obligation assumed under the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." (ICCPR, Part III Article 6, #2, & 3).

Assassination of anyone is expressly forbidden in the Laws of War (Law of Land Warfare, Section 2, #31). Because this addresses State policies so clearly, both Presidents Ford and Reagan issued executive orders forbidding assassination. President Reagan's Executive Order 12333 (Dec. 4, 1981) states: "Prohibition on Assassination. No person employed by or acting on behalf of the United States Government shall engage in, or conspire to engage in, assassination" (Section 2.11). "Indirect participation is forbidden as

well"(Section 2.12).(7) An attempt to counter the Executive order was proposed through legislation (H.R. 19: Terrorist Elimination Act of 2001) which failed and again in 2003 which failed. This order remains in effect. As customary law it can't be superseded as law for executive convenience. Germany's Third Reich, for example, evolved convenient laws to strip Jews of the right to own property or work.(8) At liberation those "laws" were recognized as simply tactics of the genocide.

It is the declared policy of the the Department of Defense to "comply with the law of war."(9)

## Anwar al-Aulaqi

Al-Aulaqi is a devout Muslim, born in and educated in the U.S.. He and his father, a former Minister of Agriculture in Yemen, say he isn't connected to al-Qaeda. Imam successively of three mosques in the U.S. he was arrested by the FBI in 2006 and released after they found no ties to al-Qaeda. He was on the Army's targeted list and target of a Yemeni / U.S. intelligence air strike on the house where he was supposed to be, killing thirty people.(10) It was against the law to target him, either as a civilian, or as an imam (chaplains are considered medical personnel).(11) It is a war crime to target a non-combatant under any circumstances. It was also against the law to kill thirty more Muslim civilians in a non-war zone.(12)

The U.S. considers al-Aulaqi an inspirational threat, "dangerous" since both Major Hassan, the Army psychiatrist who killed personnel at his station, and an alleged Nigerian attempted "bomber" of a Detroit bound plane, are said to have been influenced by his thinking. There are others. While there is extreme carelessness in assuming al-Aulaqi ordered crimes of violence, Dennis Blair, U.S. director of National Intelligence, has insisted that the intelligence community is "not careless" in killing Americans abroad.(13)

Al-Aulaqi is said to believe in a jihad against the U.S. in response to its war against Islam and Muslim people. There is evidence that the U.S. really is conducting a war against Islam. News sources quote al-Aulaqi as saying "I have come to the conclusion that jihad against America is a duty for me, as for every Muslim who can do it." A broad term, "jihad" does not specify violence or armed action, financial war as Libyan president Gaddafi recently announced against the Swiss, or a battle of cultures. Is it a crime for an imam to approve of jihad? Was the U.S. Civil Rights Movement song "You gotta do what the spirit say do" a death penalty offense? If al-Aulaqi bears arms or counsels others to bear arms against the U.S., then under U.S. law he has committed a serious crime. There is little specific evidence presented the public that al-Aulaqi has. He is a civilian entitled to a fair trial in civilian

court. Within a military context, as a cleric he is a non-combatant. It is in all cases against the laws of war to target a non-combatant.(14)

The SITE Intelligence Group which monitors Islamic web sites and provides information to field forces and U.S. Defense agencies, brought to the public's attention al-Aulaqi's anti-American and pro jihadist statements on March 19, 2010. SITE's co-founder was the primary Canadian government witness, web-expert and translator at the recent Quebec trial of Said Namouh,(15) a Muslim from Morocco, arrested and sentenced to life in prison for conspiring to plant bombs in Austria. Namouh committed no act of violence. His computer hard drive, emails and web postings were culled by the witness, for "jihadist" materials which transformed him into an al-Qaeda "propagandist." SITE is an activist company with an agenda. The co-founder is an Israeli who has served in the IDF, and is a Zionist, with a parent hung by Iraq as an Israeli spy. Blackwater, infamous for its murder of civilians, lists SITE as an invaluable resource, and this private company-for-profit / intelligence group receives half a million dollars a year from the U.S. tax free. By selecting for its web site(16) instances of violent resistance from among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims, with statements of imams who protest the slaughters that other moral people don't dare protest openly, SITE offers, I think, something other than an impartial witnessing or presentation. Instances of 'web-terrorism' by extremists, are used for the political purposes of those who would wage war on Islam.

**YOU DELIGHT IN  
LAYING DOWN  
LAWS: YET YOU  
DELIGHT MORE IN  
BREAKING THEM**

*Khalil Gibran*

Al-Aulaqi is faulted for his associations with known "terrorists" and he is faulted for honest religious statements. The first implies guilt by association while it is the duty of clerics and chaplains to be open to those who seek them out. As for the honesty of al-Aulaqi's religious statements, the freedom to express these is guaranteed under U.S. law. Both the Constitution and American culture historically affirm both al-Aulaqi's religious freedom and his freedom of speech. It is extreme to sacrifice these for any government agenda, particularly a "war on terrorism." His freedom to think, believe, express thoughts / beliefs is furthered by international covenants, treaties, the laws of all advancing countries. Because a cleric states moral truths common to Judaism, Christianity, and ethics, a criminal U.S. policy finds

itself threatened tactically as well as morally. If U.S. policy asks the American public and people of the world to accept rule by murder it should listen more closely to the morality of others. With no comfortable reason to arrest and try him, Anwar al-Aulaqi is to be murdered as an "inspirational" threat. In the case of each target on the CIA Hit List, extra judicial murder is a crime against humanity with no statute of limitations.

## Public acceptance

It is an inappropriate response to murder people for hating America, especially as U.S. policy continues illegal massacres of civilians by drone attacks, aggressive military actions in civilian sectors, destruction of the infrastructures and the entire cultural fabric of victim societies. Current President Obama was elected to end the U.S. aggressive wars. It would be an appropriate response to change the policy.

Public understanding of what it means to murder people because they inspire others, is thoroughly buffered by context: since 1990 in Iraq millions of Iraqi Muslim civilians have been killed, mothers, fathers, children, who showed no ill will against America. That is partly what an "illegal war" means. Thousands of "combatants" and civilians were arrested in both Iraq and Afghanistan, clearly deprived of Geneva Convention rights in the instance of Guantanamo, tortured and detained under such extreme conditions their captors are liable for judgement under the laws of war and covenants for peace. Stripping a religiously defined enemy of human rights was a step toward this public call for murder by command. The order seems media-normal amidst a policy of war crimes against peoples who are Muslim.

Americans are aware that the "CIA hit list" has been there a long time. Usually the crimes of power are covert. Evidence of CIA sponsored or executed extra judicial killing was apparent in U.S. policy operations against Lumumba, Castro, Allende,(17) among others. The operations of death squads throughout the Americas, a mode of operation consistently traced to the US School of the Americas, simply covered military operations. The threat behind CIA gathering the thousands of names of radicals, leftists, communists, dissidents, union leaders and organizers in every country where U.S. has corporate interests surfaced in Indonesia of 1965, as one example, with the military murder of over half a million "Communists" from lists provided the Indonesian military by the CIA.(18)

Openly marking al-Aulaqi for death because he is an "inspirational" threat, clarifies the deaths of other religious or "inspirational" leaders who faulted U.S. policies. El Salvador's Archbishop Oscar Romero ("I beseech you, I beg you, I order you, in the name of God, to stop the repression!") was murdered by an intelligence operation on March 24, 1980 while he was celebrating mass at a hospital. The murder is traced to Roberto D'Aubuisson, trained by the U.S. in security and intelligence (New York and Virginia 1971) and in communications (the School of the Americas, 1972). On December 2, 1980, two Maryknoll sisters and two Ursuline sisters, were raped and murdered by the Salvadoran military covered by U.S. officials. The Sisters were Americans working for the Catholic Relief Services. Their names were Dorothy Kazel, Ita Ford, Jean Donovan, Maura Clarke.(19) On Nov. 16, 1989, six Jesuit priests, a cook and her daughter, were murdered by a "death squad," a euphemism for regular operations of ANSESAL and the military. Ignacio Ellacuria was rector of the university, Ignacio Martin-Baró vice rector, Segundo Montes a professor, Armando López a professor, Juan Ramón Moreno a program director, - all five born in Spain, and Joaquin López y López director of a humanitarian assistance program, Julia Elba Ramos a cook, her 15 year old daughter Cecilia Ramos were shot between two and three in the morning.(20) El Salvador's Truth Commission found responsibility lay with named upper level officers of El Salvador's U.S. supported military, and "businessmen." (21) The victims' inspirational crime was supporting the poor. The murders of those well known are moments in a sea of blood. From "death squad" and overt military rule in the Americas since the Sixties, the perpetrators of the crimes have been identified and in some cases prosecuted, often not, but the CIA programs remain unmentioned, the context of US policy and agenda protected. The US operatives, the diplomats, the conduits of funding to the death squads and client governments effecting the policy remain untouched even when names and responsibility are known.(22)

The covert claim to absolute power over citizens of other countries, is now familiar enough for the CIA to allow surfacing of its hit list, not a new policy but the overt continuation of an old policy. It is publicly claiming the right of the American government to murder anyone.

## U.S. Military Law

The words "capture or killing" puts the crime in the language of war, although military law is in fact particularly careful about who can be targeted.(23)

Military law is also entirely aware of Nuremberg and the uselessness of "I was just obeying orders" defense. Military law is codified in the Uniform Code of Military Justice which is federal U.S. law for those in the service or working with the military.

The US Military Uniform Code of Justice states it is the soldier's duty to obey a lawful order. Refusal in wartime can mean the death penalty.(24) But repeatedly the UCMJ reads, a "lawful order" must be obeyed. Which means to a rational mind that an unlawful order does not. The UCMJ itself offers little guidance about where to draw the line between an unlawful order and a lawful one, other than the obvious. Because

the obvious is not spelled out it is no less obvious. Recent military law attempts to place determination of the lawfulness of the order, with a military court judge.(25) It is not likely to end there. The military court is increasingly responsible to the Law of War, and the War Crimes Act of 1996 allows military personnel to be charged in federal (civilian) court for "grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions" among other crimes.(26) And in areas under its domain the International Criminal Court doesn't require accession to the ICC court, to prosecute.

Because the U.S. military now serves in regions which involve crimes of command such as aggression, the judicial arm of the military is increasingly concerned with international law. Current Department of Defense manuals on the law of war, advise judge advocates of not only the Geneva Conventions signed by the U.S. but the Optional Protocols, unsigned but which have become customary law, and applicable.(27) While disobeying an unlawful order is a dangerous decision, it is a recognized alternative, there because it is necessary.

The Uniform Code of Military Justice steers questions of right and wrong to its Punitive Articles dealing with crimes against the military system, including crimes one finds in civilian courts - drunken driving, rape, manslaughter, etc.. The UCMJ avoids direct interface from within with the Geneva Conventions and the Laws of War / Laws of Armed Conflict (LOW & LOAC), except notably in Article 18 which gives court martial the right to try war crimes. This would include breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other Laws of War.(28) By application of Geneva Conventions and the other instruments of international law which military courts must consider, a war crime (or "crime against humanity" if part of an agenda or series of war crimes), is prosecutable. Anyone ordering a war crime is issuing a "patently unlawful order".

Ordering extra-judicial killing of possibly eight or nine Muslim men, and in particular the cleric Al-Aulaqi, the U.S. finds itself using a mechanism of the German Nazis in preparing Germany's home front for war: the dehumanization of a religious and ethnic group. Extreme deprivations of human rights is dehumanization.

## DEHUMANIZATION IS ALWAYS A REQUISITE FOR MASS MURDER AND GENOCIDE, AND REVEALS ITS PRE-MEDITATED INTENTION.(29)

What is unacceptable about ordering the killing or capture of al-Aulaqi is not

simply that he is an American citizen but that he is a Muslim of a group suffering a series of war crimes. More profoundly he's an innocent human being until proven guilty. The repetitiveness of war crimes against so many Muslim people moves the entire area of individual crimes against Muslims into a crime against humanity. It continues a progression depriving people of their rights and getting away with it because they are Muslims, even when they are Americans, and as such bear some responsibility for the crime. Psychologically this drives a targeted group to opposition.

The engineering of sides in this "war" of corporate military acquisition is attempting genocide.(30) The targeted victim group among others, has a moral right to resist. Survival is its human right. U.S. policy and media perception management have dehumanized large groups of Muslims by illegal mass slaughters in the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan,

the denial of long standing human rights to prisoners / suspects, so the legal rights of Muslims in vulnerable areas are removed. Al-Aulaqi's rights have been removed because of his beliefs.

Increasingly human rights form the matrix of a functioning society. International laws and the laws of progressive countries reflect this. In the U.S. the new Law of War Documentary Supplement to the Law of War Handbook (2008) intended for judge advocates, begins to write into U.S. military judicial code international law far in advance of U.S. domestic law. Customary laws accepted by many nations are becoming conventional (codified) law. There is at least a practical understanding that where military decisions exclude humanity they lose the good faith necessary to laws of war that protect both sides.

The interface of Public International Law (law of armed conflict and international covenants, conventions and treaties binding on every nation) with the U.S. military justice system suggests eventual radical change. The interface is also in place within Canadian Law, but at this point rarely active. In both instances, application of international law within a domestic context limits capitalism by limiting the ugliest means of imposing power. Possibly for this reason corporately controlled politicians criminalize the U.S. military with wars of aggression.

## Refusal

There is a history of men and women trying to explain to power that you can't kill faith, or ideas, a sense of justice, a hunger for the good. The ancient cultures from Indo-Europe and Persia are highly civilized. Resistance survives. It isn't simply the resistance of Islam, or an interpretation of the Koran, or a sect. The need is for freedom to follow one's way. It is the survival of faith, of the early Christians in Rome, of Toussaint L'Overture, of Louis Riel, the refusals of the Warsaw ghetto, of Ho Chi Min, of Jean Moulin, John Brown and Thoreau, of Beauregard as well, of Simon Bolivar, Fidel, of a revolution America has

dreamed of. Among the thousands on thousand moments in history when the arrogance of oppression overwhelms its respect for life, there is resistance.

By placing a Muslim American within its realm of slaughter, simply for stating his beliefs and suggesting they are worth dying for, this U.S. Policy breaks faith with humanity. Americans have already lived through the murders of so many of our own religious leaders. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.(31) was only an American. His freedom of thought and faith became a threat to government waging war in Vietnam. An "inspirational" threat. Malcolm X was only an American, an inspirational threat and visionary. There were so many unexplained unjustified deaths of Americans through the Sixties, men and women of good name or nameless, who believed in humanity. Some wore the uniform. The crime proposed against Anwar al-Aulaqi is part of a much larger American crime that remains unacceptable and leaves no family untouched.

The concern isn't only the order to kill Anwar al-Aulaqi, which I believe is a patently illegal order. (32) A U.S. policy of "war" has created a norm of unjustified killings. The victims are often innocent and unforgettable. The policy places those in the military and related services, the CIA, the contractors, people who are "just following orders," outside a human community and beyond the protections of law. With any concern for human life the order should be cancelled.

## Endnotes

- 1 Philip Gerardi, "Deep Background: Assassinating Americans"(March 28, 2010), Global Research News. Gerardi indicates the name of another American on the hit list, Adam Perlman (Adam Yahyei Gadahn). A Jewish Christian from the West coast, convert to Islam at 17, he is considered an aide to Bin Laden, a "propagandist" encouraging Pakistani fundamentalists.
- 2 United States Constitution. Article VI (2). "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land..."
- 3 Andrew Buncombe, "Bush gives CIA 'hit list' of senior terrorists" (Dec. 16, 2002), Independent.
- 4 Greg Miller, "Muslim cleric Aulaqi is 1st U.S. citizen on list of those CIA is allowed to kill" (April 7, 2010), Washington Post.
- 5 "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" (Dec. 16, 1966), United Nations Treaty Collection on the Internet. This is currently included in Law of War Documentary Supplement (2009), International and Operational Law Department, The Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School.
- 6 Laws of War Handbook 2005, International and Operational Law Department, The Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School [access: < >].
- 7 Elizabeth Bazan, "Assassination Ban and E.O. 12333: a Brief summary" (Jan. 4, 2002), CRS Report for Congress.
- 8 The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People ( New York, Nexus Press, 1981). pp. 89-110.
- 9 "The Armed Forces of the United States will comply with the law of war during all armed conflicts, however such conflicts are characterized, and, unless otherwise directed by competent authorities, the US Armed Forces will comply with the principles and spirit of the law of war during all other operations." Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction, CJCSI 5810.01B (25 March 2002).
- 10 Andy Soltis, "Fort Hood' Imam blown up: Yemen" (Dec. 25, 2009), New York Post. In fact, Al-Aulaqi survived. A previous AP report notes Aulaqi's wife and 5 children were with him at an unknown location: Ahmed al-Haj & Donna Abu-Nasr, "US imam who communicated with Fort Hood suspect wanted in Yemen on terror suspicions" (Nov. 11, 2009), San Francisco Examiner.
- 11 Chapter 7, "Means and Methods of Warfare," Section 3, B, 2, C.c., Laws of War Handbook 2005.
- 12 Section 3, B, 2, a, Ibid.
- 13 "Obama Administration Approves Killing Americans Abroad" (April 5, 2010), allgov.com.
- 14 Section 3, B, 2, Laws of War Handbook 2005.
- 15 J.B.Gerald, "suppressed news," Night's Lantern [access: < >].
- 16 Site Intelligence Group [access: < >].
- 17 David Pallister, "Leaders on the CIA's hit list" (March 21, 2010), The Guardian.



18 David Ransom, "Ford Country: Building an Elite for Indonesia," *The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid* (Palo Alto, Ca: Ramparts Press, 1975 revised edition), pp. 93-116 [access: < >]. See also my "Essay on State Terrorism" (1991) *Night's Lantern* [access: < >].

19 "Dorothy Kazez," Wikipedia.

20 Lee Hockstader and Douglas Farah, "6 Priests, 2 others slain in San Salvador" (Nov. 17, 1989), *Washington Post Foreign Service*.

21 "Illustrative case: the Murders of the Jesuit Priests," Report of the UN Truth Commission on El Salvador (March 15, 1993), pp. 45-54.

22 Leads for verification: Ralph McGehee, "CIA Support of Death Squads," *serendipity.li*. Serendipity carries an extensive CIA research database.

23 See Chapter 7, "Means and Methods of Warfare," *Laws of War Handbook 2005*, passim.

24 Article 90, 2, and Article 92, Uniform Code of Military Justice [access: < >].

25 18 U.S.C.5 2441 and amended 1997 *Laws of War Handbook 2005*, p.223.

26 A recent clarification: "Preface," *Manual for Courts-Martial United States* (2008 edition), Joint Service Committee for Military Justice. USAPD, Unclassified PIN 030567-000.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 U.S. ratification of the Convention on Genocide and its subsequent policy stress the necessity of "intention" for its definition of genocide to be committed. Realistically, the definition of "intent" remains subject to the interpretation of an international court.

30 See J.B.Gerald, "When the 'War on Terror' Becomes Genocide"(2010) [access: < >].

31 To consider the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (and others) within context of a U.S. covert (military related) operation, see J.B.Gerald, "Essay on State Terrorism" (1991) [access: < >].

32 Article 90, "Explanation," 2, a, i, UCMY, *Manual for Court Martial United States* (2008 edition) [access: < >]. See also Article 89 "Explanation" (5) and Article 92, *ibid.*

Copyright © 2010, by John Bart Gerald

## When Victims Become Victimisers

Zionism's Angry Xenophobic War Against Itself and the Rest of the World



An Angryindian Reader

Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 Unported

# When Victims Become Victimisers:

## *Zionism 's Angry Xenophobic War Against Itself and the Rest of the World*

EXCERPT: The genocides occurring against Indigenous populations around the world are not limited to Occupied Palestine. Organised human-on-Human inhumanity goes on in the post-WW2 World in Africa and Southeast Asia with passive genocides taking place against "Indios" on both American continents, Australia, New Zealand, South Asia, Tibet, Africa and Eastern Europe. Roma peoples, Basque, Sami, Ainu, Kung San, Southeast Asian Negritos, the aboriginal Papua New Guinean population, Chaggos Islanders, Guam's Chamorro peoples and other Pacific Island Indigenous populations still endure intentional genocide as well. Occupied Palestine's Indigenous Arab population cannot be removed from this list. In fact, they currently stand at the head of this roster due to the ironic fact that their oppressors are European Jews, themselves historical victims of xenophobia and selective ethnic removal. This writer finds this paradox to be the question of the age: 'How does a victim of genocide excuse their own practise of genocide'? At what point is it deemed irresponsible if not downright despicable to misuse the memory of your own experience with genocide as a political and theological tool to silence criticism of the hypocrisy?

# Indigenist Blog-Journalism...



*Marty Mars*

## Mana Motuhake

*We are in this waka together but as I have said many times - it is a waka.*

There are a couple of things to consider regarding the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People

Hone's call to put a copy of the dec in every maori household is a really good idea although I would take it further and offer a copy to all households in this country. This aspirational goal is exactly that - something to aspire to and the more we align and move towards the aspirations included within that dec then the better off we will all be.

And secondly we will this week get a settlement for Tuhoe. This settlement will break new ground in terms of achieving mana motuhake. Tuhoe are likely to get Te Urewera back and this is just. This is their homeland and where they live. And it is quite specific to them because as mentioned on Native Affairs last night - no one lives on Aoraki. We should not be afraid of this.

Tuhoe have discussed the treaty settlement issues and others relating to the police terror raids in Tuhoe territory, with phil goff - that is important because labour were government when the raids took place - another shameful episode for them.

Tuhoe will set a higher standard for other settlements and future settlements will be coloured by this one and the UN dec. We are seeing massive changes beginning to occur and we must embrace them, we must celebrate them. We are in this waka together but as I have said many times - it is a waka.

*Prof. Ridwan Laher*

# Leftover Whiteness in South Africa

Max du Preez is an outspoken Afrikaner columnist who has spent a large part of his professional and personal life as a critic of apartheid and the apartheid mindset that still persists 14 years after Mandela proclaimed "us" free in South Africa.

From time to time Du Preez gets his

analytical teeth into the shortcomings of the African National Congress led government but he is at his best when he takes on white bigots and naysayers who think that white South Africa was the right South Africa.

A few days ago he wrote a column that had him confessing that he and all whites, even those born after apartheid, benefitted from that horrible system of white abuse and privilege.

Du Preez knew that many whites would come out of the denialist woodwork and protest by claiming that Blacks practice reverse racism via Affirmative Action and, of course, crime, among other spurious laments.

You can read the Du Preez's column here and please do venture down and see some of the comments.

Max du Preez est un chroniqueur ouvertement afrikaner qui a passé une grande partie de sa vie professionnelle et personnelle en tant que critique de l'apartheid et la mentalité d'apartheid qui persiste 14 ans après Mandela proclame «nous» sans en Afrique du Sud.

De temps en temps Du Preez obtient ses dents d'analyse dans les travers de l'African National Congress a conduit le gouvernement, mais il est à son meilleur quand il prend bigots blanc et défaitistes qui pensent que le blanc d'Afrique du Sud a été le droit en Afrique du Sud.

Il ya quelques jours, il a écrit une colonne qui lui avait avoué que lui et tous les Blancs, même ceux qui sont nés après l'apartheid, a profité de ce système horrible de violence blanc et un privilège. Du Preez savait que beaucoup de blancs sortaient de nulle part négationnistes et les protestations en affirmant que le racisme pratique Noirs inverse par action positive et, bien sûr, la criminalité, entre autres parasites se lamente.

Vous pouvez lire la colonne Du Preez ici et s'il vous plaît ne risque pas et de voir certains des commentaires. Alors que nous pensons par le poids de la structure que l'apartheid a légué, il peut être utile d'examiner l'emploi et de données sur les gains entre les races. Economiste, Mike Schüssler, vient de terminer un rapport qui met en lumière importante à cet égard. Il commente:

"Le groupe de la population blanche avait le revenu le plus élevé qui est d'environ 450% plus de revenus en noir

While we think through the structural weight that apartheid has bequeathed it may be helpful to look at employment and earnings data among the races.

Economist, Mike Schüssler, has just completed a report that sheds some

important light in this regard. He comments:

"The white population group had the highest income which is about 450% more than black income and 400% more than coloured income.

Indian people earned 70% of what white

people did."

Schüssler also says that white workers earn 5.5 times more than black workers.

The point here is not to deny that Blacks, coloureds, and Indians, are not making advances in employment and earning power. They are, and Schüssler's report shows this movement.

His report also references a growing number of whites who are becoming poorer.

et 400% de plus que le revenu de couleur. Indiens gagnaient 70% de ce que les blancs ont fait. "

Schüssler dit aussi que les travailleurs blancs gagnent 5,5 fois plus que les travailleurs noirs. Le point ici n'est pas de nier que les Noirs, les métis et les Indiens, ne sont pas des avancées en matière d'emploi et pouvoir d'achat. Ils sont, et de faire rapport Schüssler montre ce mouvement. Son rapport a également fait référence à un nombre croissant de Blancs qui sont de plus en plus pauvres.

La question est de contester l'argument préjudiciables entre les nombreux Blancs que les Noirs sont les salariés à nouveau sommet et que la vie blanche se caractérise par une lame en arrière en termes de richesse et de l'accès à la richesse et de ses structures.

La vérité est que la grande majorité de personnes en Afrique du Sud qui sont pauvres et démunis dans toutes les conditions de vie des indices, sont exactement les mêmes personnes qui ont été ainsi créée et soutenue sous l'apartheid.

Je m'attends à ce que si l'on pèse dans les données sur le chômage et le sous-emploi, les Noirs seraient les plus touchés, et tout à fait ainsi. Rien n'a changé dans ces termes. L'économie peut avoir des aspects qui illustrent la pénétration d'une élite noire économiques et politiques, mais qui porte atteinte à peine de la vérité que 14 ans nous sommes du même pays que l'apartheid a créé.

Ce qui est également le même, c'est le

The point is to contest the prejudicial argument among many whites that Blacks are the new high earners and that white life is characterized by a backward slide in terms of wealth and access to wealth and its structures.

The truth is that the vast majority of people in South Africa who are poor, and destitute in all life-indices terms, are exactly the same people who were so created and sustained under apartheid.

I also fully expect that if we weighed in data on unemployment, and underemployment, Blacks would be the most affected, and grossly so.

Nothing has changed in these terms. The economy may have aspects that illustrate the penetration of a Black economic and political elite but that hardly detracts from the truth that 14 years on we are the same country that apartheid created.

What is also the same is the fact that most white South Africans are hardly ready to recognize the brutality that apartheid created to ensure that white life was the right life under apartheid.

It is for these reasons that I am not impressed or intimidated by white South Africans who scream and shout about their new found oppression 14 years after Mandela let them get away with their inhumane deeds.

I am also not impressed by whites who tell me they never voted for the apartheid government or that they were

just children when apartheid 'ended' in 1994.

Apartheid is not over and neither are the racial disparities that it created.

Du Preez is too quick to point out that he hears this argument only from uppity Blacks and not poor Blacks.

This is patronizing to say the least.

My suggestion to Du Preez, whom I respect, as well as the apartheid trolls who keep sending racist comments to this blog, is to engage our post-apartheid condition with nuance and not to speak on behalf of Black, coloureds, and Indians in South Africa.

I don't expect that too many whites will see sense in my point. For most, it is more comforting to see themselves victimized by an irrational Black onslaught.

For this reason, I expect that many whites will want to call me a racist and a hate monger (again) for pointing out that they mostly live in the lap of luxury in Black South Africa.

I am used to this kind of abusive nonsense. There has not been a day in my entire life when I have not had to deal with the weight of whiteness.

I am, therefore, very aware that most whites find it easier to deny their historical and structural relationship to apartheid, still.

Onward!

fait que la plupart des Sud-Africains blancs ne sont guère prêts à reconnaître la brutalité que l'apartheid créé pour veiller à ce que la vie était la vie blanche à droite sous l'apartheid.

C'est pour ces raisons que je ne suis pas impressionné ou intimidé par Sud-Africains blancs qui hurler et crier au sujet de leur oppression trouvé de nouveaux 14 ans après Mandela laisser s'en tirer avec leurs actes inhumains.

Je ne suis pas impressionné ou intimidé par les Blancs qui me disent qu'ils n'ont jamais voté pour le gouvernement de l'apartheid ou qu'ils étaient juste des enfants lors de l'apartheid "terminé" en 1994. L'apartheid n'est pas plus pas plus que les disparités raciales qui l'a créé. Du Preez est trop empressé de souligner qu'il entend cet argument que de Noirs arrogants et non les Noirs pauvres.

C'est condescendant pour dire le moins.

Ma suggestion pour Du Preez, que je respecte, ainsi que les trolls apartheid qui continuent d'envoyer des

commentaires racistes sur ce blog, est d'engager notre condition post-apartheid avec nuance et de ne pas parler au nom des Noirs, métis et les Indiens du Sud Afrique.

Je ne m'attends pas que les blancs trop grand nombre de voir le sens de mon point. Pour la plupart, il est plus rassurant de voir eux-mêmes victimes d'une attaque irrationnelle Noire.

**JE NE M'ATTENDS PAS QUE LES BLANCS TROP GRAND NOMBRE DE VOIR LE SENS DE MON POINT. POUR LA PLUPART, IL EST PLUS RASSURANT DE VOIR EUX-MÊMES VICTIMES D'UNE ATTAQUE IRRATIONNELLE NOIRE.**

Pour cette raison, je pense que beaucoup de Blancs voudront me traiter de raciste et fauteurs de haine (encore) de remarquer qu'ils vivent principalement dans le luxe en noir en Afrique du Sud.

Je suis habitué à ce genre de bêtises abusive. Il n'a pas été une journée de toute ma vie où je n'ai pas eu à traiter avec le poids d'une blancheur.

Je suis donc très conscient du fait que la plupart des Blancs trouvent plus facile de nier leur relation historique et structurelle de l'apartheid, encore.

En avant!

# Once Upon A Time

a 2010 fairy tale for the 100th Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution-1910

By Jose Aztatl Garza

*once upon a time bomb  
there was a very active  
arm chair revolutionary,  
clicking here  
criticizing there  
without a care  
Sukhoi-ready  
underground SME  
Zapatista steady*

*graduate of Steven Biko Preporatory  
Crazy Horse Institute of Little Big Horn  
Vietnam Veteran Fragster expectations  
he would go far so very far so long  
as he kept his mouth under control  
alone content on the shelf of compromise  
behind passive days and gathering storm*

*fecal Calderon toasted tequila sunrise  
had not heard up-roarious rumor  
la llorana y el cucuy no longer held sway  
down old Mexico way home of the brave  
on Acapulco Bay gangsta' homie land of  
yankee bank barons-  
stealth bomber crowd*

*meanwhile Manuela shined shoes  
sold chicle wiped windshields  
catered champagne and caviar  
cleaned swimming pools drove  
the buses and taxi cabs to the airport  
tilled the land attended university  
studied anarchy 101 trained  
the hacienda horses found work  
in the Mexican military constructed  
the cities served the poor  
in private made sure  
to keep her matraya  
in perfect working order*

*"Quetzalcoatl  
Plumed Serpent,  
an earthquake  
has returned,  
come to shatter both heaven and earth,"  
she whispered, "see, a canyon top wind  
breathing Fire - spewing a Thunder Storm,  
come, sit, watch the end of the world ..."*

*fin*

© aztatl, 2010

\*\*\*

*érase una bomba de tiempo  
había una muy activa  
brazo revolucionaria silla,  
haciendo clic aquí  
no criticar  
sin un cuidado  
Sukhoi-listo  
subterráneos de las PYME  
Zapatista constante*

*graduado de Steven Biko Preporatory  
Loco Instituto Caballo del Cuerno Little Big  
Veterano de Vietnam Fragster expectativas  
que llegaría lejos tan lejos tanto tiempo  
que mantuvo su boca bajo control  
solo el contenido de la plataforma de compromiso  
tras día pasiva y una gran tormenta*

*Calderón fecal tostado tequila sunrise  
no había escuchado rumores-hasta roarious  
La Y de El Cucuy llorana ya no dominaban  
por México camino a casa vieja de los valientes  
en Acapulco Bay gangsta' Homie de la tierra  
yankee barones de banco  
bombardero Stealth multitud*

*Mientras tanto Manuela brilló los zapatos  
vendió chicle limpió parabrisas  
atendidos champagne y caviar  
limpiar piscinas llevó  
los autobuses y taxis al aeropuerto  
cultivaban la tierra a la universidad  
estudió la anarquía 101 capacitados  
los caballos de hacienda encontró trabajo  
en el mexicano militar, se construyó  
las ciudades sirvió a los pobres  
en privado se aseguró  
para mantener su matraya  
en condiciones de funcionamiento perfecto*

*"Quetzalcóatl  
Serpiente Emplumada,  
un terremoto  
ha vuelto,  
vienen a romper el cielo y la tierra "  
-susurró, "ver, un cañón de viento arriba  
la respiración de fuego - arrojando una tormenta,  
Ven, siéntate, ver el fin del mundo ... "*

*aleta*

© aztatl de 2010

\*\*\*



## Jean-Paul Sartre On Genocide



### **IT IS NO COINCIDENCE IF JURISTS AND GOVERNMENTS HAVE MULTIPLIED AGREEMENTS TO 'HUMANIZE WAR' ON THE EVE OF TWO OF THE MOST HORRIFYING MASSACRES THAT MAN HAS EVER KNOWN.**

The word 'genocide' has not been in existence for very long: it was the jurist Lemkin who coined it between the two world wars. The thing itself is as old as humanity and there has never been a society whose structure has preserved it from committing this crime. All genocide is a product of history and it always carries the signs of the society from which it springs. The case which we have to judge concerns the largest contemporary capitalist power. It is as such that we must attempt to consider it; in other words, inasmuch as it expresses the economic structure, the political aims and the contradictions of that power.

In particular, we must try to understand whether there is an intention of genocide in the war that the American government is fighting against Vietnam. Article 2 of the Convention of 1948 defines genocide on the basis of intention. The Convention was tacitly referring to very recent history. Hitler had declared a deliberate plan to exterminate the Jews; he did not conceal the fact that he was using genocide as a political tactic. The Jew had to be put to death, wherever he came from, not because he had taken up arms or had joined a resistance movement, but just because he was a Jew. The American government, on the other hand, has made no such clear declarations. It even averred that it was going to the rescue of its allies, the South Vietnamese, who had been attacked by the Communists from the North. Is it possible for us, in objectively studying the facts, to unveil their hidden intention? And can we, after this examination, say that the armed forces of the USA are killing Vietnamese in Vietnam for the simple reason that they are Vietnamese?

This can only be established after a look at history: the structures of war change at the same time as those of society. From 1860 to this day, military motives and objectives have undergone a profound change and the end result of this

metamorphosis is precisely the war of 'example' that the USA is waging in Vietnam.

1856: Treaties for the preservation of the property of neutrals;

1864: At Geneva, an attempt to protect the wounded;

1899, 1907: At The Hague, two Conferences attempting to control conflicts.

It is no coincidence if jurists and governments have multiplied agreements to 'humanize war' on the eve of two of the most horrifying massacres that man has ever known. Vladimir Dedijer has shown very well in his book *On Military Conventions* that capitalist societies were all simultaneously creating this monster, total war, which expresses their real nature. This is because:

1. Competition between the industrialized nations fighting over new markets engenders a permanent hostility which is expressed, both in theory and in practice, by what is called 'bourgeois nationalism'.

2. The development of industry, which is the source of these antagonisms, enables them to be resolved at the expense of one competitor, in the production of more and more massively lethal arms. The result of this evolution is that it becomes less and less possible to distinguish the rear from the front

line, between the civilian population and the soldiers.

More military objectives appear, near to the cities. The factories, even if they are not working for the armies, do comprise the economic potential of a country. Therefore, the destruction of this potential becomes the aim of the war and the means by which it may be won.

4. For this reason, everybody is mobilized: the peasant fights at the front, the labourer is a soldier in the second line, the wives of the peasants replace the men in the fields. In the total effort of one country against another, the worker tends to become a fighter because, in the end, it is the strongest economic power that has the greatest chance of winning.

5. Finally, the democratic evolution of the bourgeois countries interests the masses in politics. The masses do not control the decisions of the state, but gradually gain a self-awareness. When a war comes, they no longer feel detached. Thus, reappraised and often deformed by propaganda, war becomes an ethical decision of the whole community. In every nation engaged in war manipulation {351} makes all, or nearly all, the citizens the enemies of the other nation. In this way war becomes total.

6. These same technologically advanced societies do not cease to enlarge upon the field of competition in multiplying the means of communication. The well-known 'One World' of the Americans already existed at the end of the nineteenth century when the wheat from Argentina managed to ruin the farmers in Britain. War is total not only because all the members of one community are at war against the members of another, but because its risk embraces the whole world.

Therefore the war of bourgeois nations - of which the conflict of 1914 is the first example, but which had been menacing Europe since 1900 - is not the invention of one man or one government, but the simple necessity since the beginning of the century for a totalitarian effort against those who wish to carry on their

politics by other means or methods. In other words, the option is clear; no war or total war. It was total war that our fathers fought. And the governments - who could see it coming but did not have the intelligence or the courage to avoid it - tried vainly to humanize it.

However, in the First World War, intentions of genocide only appeared sporadically. The primary aim - as in the two centuries previously - was to destroy the military strength of a country, even if the more profound aim was to ruin its economy. But, although it was sometimes difficult to distinguish the civilians from the soldiers, it was rare, except during a few terroristic raids, for the population itself to be a target. Further, the two sides were developed nations, which implied from the outset a certain balance inasmuch as each side had a sufficient deterrent against the threat of extermination: the possibility for retaliation. This explains how, even in the midst of the massacre, a certain caution was observed.

However, since 1830 and throughout the last century, there have been many genocides outside Europe, some of which were the expression of authoritarian political structures, while the others - those which we need to know about to understand the growth of US imperialism and the nature of the war in Vietnam - found their origin in capitalist democracies. To export goods and capital, the big powers, and in particular Great Britain and France, built themselves colonial empires. The name by which the {352} French called their conquests - 'overseas possessions' - clearly indicates that they could only have acquired them by wars of aggression, seeking out the foe in his own country, in Africa, in Asia and in the underdeveloped lands. Far from being 'total wars', which would indicate a certain initial reciprocity, such complete superiority of arms only required an Expeditionary Force. This easily conquered any regular armies that existed, but because such barefaced aggression provoked the hatred of the civilian populations, which is the reserve of manpower or soldiers, the colonial troops imposed themselves by the terror of constant massacres.

These massacres had all the characteristics of genocide: they involved destruction of 'one part of the group' (ethnic, national, religious) to terrorize the rest and break down the indigenous social structure. When the French had made a bloodbath of Algeria during the last century, they imposed on this tribal society - where every community possessed its own indivisible lands - the Code Civile, which consists of bourgeois jurisdiction with regard to the division of inherited property. Thus, they systematically destroyed the economic structure of the country. The land soon passed from the peasant tribes into the hands of merchants who had come from France. In fact, colonialization is not just a simple conquest - as was the case in 1870 when Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine - it is necessarily a cultural genocide. One cannot colonize without systematically destroying the particular character of the natives, at the same time denying them the right of integration with the mother country and of benefiting from its advantages. Colonialism is, in effect, a system: the colony sells raw materials and foodstuffs at a favourable price to the colonial power which then sells industrial goods back to them at world market prices. This peculiar method of exchange can only be established when the native labour is made to work for starvation wages. It naturally follows that the colonized lose their national personality, their culture, their customs, sometimes even their language, and live in misery like shadows constantly reminded of their own sub-humanity.

Yet their value as virtually free labour protects them to a certain extent from genocide. The Nuremberg Tribunal was fresh in the memory when the French, to make an example, massacred 45,000 Algerians at Sétif. This was such a common occurrence {353} that no one then thought of judging the French government as the Nazis had been judged. But this deliberate destruction of 'one part of the national group' could not be continued without proving to the disadvantage of the settlers. To have done so would have ruined them. It is because they were unable to liquidate the Algerian population, and because they did not integrate the country, that the French lost the war in Algeria.

These comments enable us to understand how the nature of colonial wars was transformed after the Second World War. It is at about this period, in fact, that the people in the colonies, enlightened by such conflict and its impact on the 'empires', and encouraged by Mao Tse-tung's victory, determined to regain their national independence.

The characteristics of the struggle were clear from the beginning: the settlers were superior in arms, the colonized in numbers. Even in Algeria - a colony of settlers rather than of outside exploitation - the ratio of settlers to natives was 1:9. During the two world wars, many native peoples had learned the military arts and become well-seasoned soldiers. However, the scarcity and quality of weapons - at least at the beginning - limited the number of fighting units. These conditions dictated the nature of the fighting: terrorism, ambush, harassing the enemy, and the extreme mobility of the combat groups which had to strike unexpectedly and disappear immediately. This was not possible without the participation of the entire population. Hence the well-known association of the forces of liberation with the masses: the former organizing agrarian reform, political bodies and education; the latter supporting, feeding and hiding the liberation army's soldiers, and giving them their young to

replace their losses.

It is not by mere chance that the 'popular' war, with its principles, its strategy, its tactics and its theoreticians, begins at the same time as the industrial powers brought total war to its ultimate stage with the harnessing of nuclear fission. Nor is it by chance that it resulted in the ruin of colonialism. The contradiction that gave victory to the FLN in Algeria was typical of the time; in fact, popular war eradicates classical war (as does the hydrogen bomb).

Against partisans backed by the entire population, colonial armies are helpless. They have only one way of escaping from the {354} harassment which demoralizes them and tends towards a Dien Bien Phu. This is to eliminate the civilian population. As it is the unity of a whole people that is containing the conventional army, the only anti-guerrilla strategy which will be effective is the destruction of that people, in other words, the civilians, women and children.

Torture and genocide were the colonialists' answers to the uprising of the natives. And that answer, as we know, is useless if it is not definitive and total. A determined population, unified by its fierce and politicized partisan army, will not let itself be intimidated, as it was in the heyday of colonialism, by a massacre 'as a lesson'. On the contrary, this will only increase its hatred. It is no longer a matter of arousing fear but of physically liquidating a people. And as this is not possible without at the same time eliminating the colonial economy and the colonial system; the settlers panic, the colonial powers grow tired of sinking manpower and money into a conflict with no solution, the masses at home end up opposing the continuation of barbaric wars and the colonies become independent states.

There do exist, however, cases where the genocidal solution to popular wars is not held back by innate contradictions. Total genocide then reveals itself as the foundation of anti-guerrilla strategy. And, under certain circumstances, it would even present itself as the ultimate objective, either immediately or gradually. This is exactly what has happened in the war in Vietnam. This is a new aspect of the imperialist process, one usually called neocolonialism because it is defined as aggression against an old colonial country, which has already attained its independence, to subject it once again to colonial rule. At first, the neo-colonialists make sure - either by the financing of a putsch or by another underhand stroke - that the new rulers will not represent the interest of the masses but that of a small minority of the privileged classes and, thus, that of foreign capital. In Vietnam this took the form of Diem, imposed, maintained and armed by the US, and of the proclaimed decision to reject the Treaty of Geneva and to constitute the Vietnamese territory south of the 17th parallel as an independent state. The natural results of this were a police force and an army to hunt those who, frustrated in their victory, immediately and even before any effective resistance movement, {355} declared themselves to be the enemies of the new government. It was the reign of terror that provoked a new uprising in the South and re-ignited the popular war. Did the US ever think that Diem would quash the revolt at its outset? In any event, they did not delay in sending experts, then troops, until they were up to their necks in the conflict. And gradually we can retrace almost exactly the same war that Ho Chi Minh waged against the French, even though the American government declared at the beginning that they were

sending their troops out of generosity and out of duty to an ally.

This is how it appears. But, fundamentally, these two successive conflicts do have a different nature: the United States, unlike the French, do not have any economic interests in Vietnam. A few private American companies have invested there, but they are not so large that they could not, if necessary, be sacrificed without really affecting the American economy or harming the monopolies. Because the US is not pursuing the war for direct economic reasons, it need not rule out putting an end to it by the ultimate strategy of genocide. This does not prove that America has thought of this solution, only that nothing bars it from such a strategy.

In fact, according to the Americans themselves, the war has two objectives. Recently, Dean Rusk declared: 'We are defending ourselves.' It is no longer Diem, the ally in danger, or Ky that they have come to rescue. It is the United States that is in danger in Saigon. This means that their first aim is military: it is to encircle Communist China, the major obstacle to their expansionism. Thus, they will not let south-east Asia escape. America has put men in power in Thailand, it controls part of Laos and threatens to invade Cambodia. But these conquests will be useless if the US has to face a free Vietnam with thirty-one million united people. That is why the military chiefs often talk of 'key positions'. That is why Dean Rusk says, with unconscious humour, that the armed forces of the United States are fighting in Vietnam 'to avoid a Third World War'. Either this phrase makes no sense at all, or it must be understood to mean 'to win a Third World War'. In short, the first objective is governed by the necessity of establishing a Pacific Defence Line, which can only be imposed in the general political framework of imperialism.

The second objective is economic. General Westmoreland defined it in these terms in October 1966: 'We are making war in Vietnam to show that guerrilla warfare does not pay.' To show whom? The Vietnamese? That would be very surprising. Is it necessary to spend so many human lives and so much money to convince a nation of poor peasants struggling thousands of miles from San Francisco? And, above all, what need was there to attack, to provoke to battle and then crush it so as to show the uselessness of the fight, when the interests of the large companies are so negligible? Westmoreland's phrase - like that of Rusk quoted above - needs to be completed. It is to the others that they want to prove that guerrilla warfare does not pay: all the exploited and oppressed nations who may be tempted to free themselves from the Yankee yoke with a war for freedom, first of all against their own pseudo-governments and the compradores supported by a national army, then against the 'Special Forces' of the United States and finally against the GIs. In other words, it is an example for Latin America and the entire underdeveloped world. To

Guevara, who used to say: 'We need many Vietnams', the American government replies: 'They will all be crushed as we are crushing this one.'

In other words, this war is primarily a warning for three, and perhaps four, continents. After all, Greece is also a peasant nation and a dictatorship has just been established there. It is best to warn: submission or complete liquidation. So, this exemplary genocide is a warning to all humanity. It is with this warning that six per cent of mankind hope, without too much expense, to control the remaining ninety-four per cent.

At this point in our discussion, three facts emerge: (1) the US government wants a base and an example; (2) this can be achieved, without any greater obstacle than the resistance of the Vietnamese people themselves, by liquidating an entire people and establishing a Pax Americana on a Vietnamese desert; (3) to attain the second, the US must achieve, at least partially, this extermination.

The declarations of American statesmen are not as frank as those that Hitler made in his day. But honesty is not indispensable; the facts speak for themselves. The speeches that accompany them, ad usum internum, will only be believed by the {357} American people; the rest of the world understands only too well. Friendly governments keep silent. The others denounce the genocide, but the Americans reply to them that they are showing which side they are really on by their unproven accusations. In fact, say the American government, we have done nothing but offer the Vietnamese - North and South - this choice: either you stop your aggression or we break you. There is no longer any need to point out that this proposition is absurd since the aggression is American, so that only the Americans themselves can put an end to it. But this absurdity is not uncalculated: it is clever to formulate a demand which the Vietnamese cannot possibly satisfy. In this way, America remains the master of the decision to stop the fighting. But, one might read the alternatives as: declare yourselves conquered, or 'we will take you back to the Stone Age'. It does not cancel out the second term of the alternative, which is genocide. They have said: genocide, yes, but only conditional genocide. Is this legally valid? Is it even conceivable?

If the argument had any legal meaning, the government of the United States would only just escape the accusation of genocide. But, as MaïTre Matarasso has remarked, the law, in distinguishing between intention and motive, does not leave room for this escape clause. Genocide, especially as it has been carried on for several years, may well have blackmail as a motive. One may declare that one will stop if the victim submits. Those are the motivations and the act does not cease to be genocide by intention. This is particularly so when, as in this case, part of the group has been annihilated to force the rest to submission.

## **TOTAL GENOCIDE THEN REVEALS ITSELF AS THE FOUNDATION OF ANTI-GUERRILLA STRATEGY. AND, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD EVEN PRESENT ITSELF AS THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE...**



But let us look more closely and see what the terms of the alternative are. In the South, this is the choice: the villages are burnt, the population has to endure massive and deliberately destructive bombardments, the cattle are shot at, the vegetation is ruined by defoliants, what does grow is ruined by toxic elements, machine guns are aimed haphazardly, and everywhere there is killing, rape and pillage. That is genocide in its most rigorous meaning of massive extermination. What is the other choice? What must the Vietnamese people do to escape this atrocious death? Join the American armed forces or those of Saigon, or let themselves be enclosed in strategic hamlets or in those 'new life' compounds, which are two names for concentration camps. {358}

We know about these camps from numerous witnesses. They are surrounded by barbed wire. The most elementary needs are ignored. There is under-nourishment and complete lack of sanitation. The prisoners are packed into tents or primitive huts where they stifle. The social structure is destroyed. Husbands are separated from wives, mothers from their children, family life - so respected by the Vietnamese - no longer exists. As the homes are broken up, the birth rate diminishes; all possibility of cultural or religious life is abolished. Even work that will improve the standard of living is denied them. These unfortunates are not even slaves (the servile condition of the American Negroes has not stifled their own deep culture); this group is reduced to the state of an appendage, to the worst of vegetative lives. Anyone who wants to escape can only make contact with other men shattered and ravaged by hate, who can only regroup clandestinely for political resistance. The enemy guesses this, so that the camps are raked over two or three times. Even there, security is never certain and the shattering forces are always at work. If by any chance a broken family, e.g. some children with an older sister or a young mother, are freed, they go to swell the proletariat in the towns. The elder sister or the young mother, without a breadwinner and with so many mouths to feed, sinks to the utmost degradation in prostitution to the enemy. This is the lot of one third of the population in the South, according to Mr Duncan's evidence. It is the sort of genocide condemned by the Convention of 1948:

Grave damage to physical or mental health of members of the group;

Intentional submission of the group to such conditions of existence as result in total or partial physical damage;

Steps taken to prevent births within the group;

Forcible removal of children...

In other words, it is not true that the choice lies between death or submission. Submission, under these circumstances, amounts to genocide. Let us say that there is only a choice between immediate violent death and a slow death after mental and physical degradation.

Is it any different in the North?

One choice is extermination: not only the daily risk of death {359} but also the systematic destruction of the economic system, from the irrigation ditches to the factories of which 'there must not be a brick left upon another brick'; deliberate attacks on the civilian population, and in particular on the countryside; destruction of hospitals, schools, places of worship, consistent

effort towards wiping out the achievements of twenty years of Socialism. Is this simply to terrorize the population? That can only be achieved by the daily extermination of an ever larger number of the group. This terrorism itself, in its psycho-social consequences, is genocide. Who knows if, with the children in particular, this will not result in mental disturbances which will affect them permanently?

The other choice is capitulation. This would mean acceptance from the North Vietnamese that their country should be divided in two and that the American dictatorship, either directly or through their puppets, should be imposed on their compatriots and on the members of their own families from whom the war has separated them. Would this intolerable humiliation put an end to the war? This is far from certain: the NLF and the DRV, although united, have different strategies and tactics because of their different stances in the war. If the NLF continued the struggle, American bombers would carry on, even if the DRV capitulated.

But should the war come to an end, we know - from official declarations - that the United States would be generously inclined to rebuild the DRV with mountains of dollars. This would mean that they would destroy, with their private investments or conditional loans, all the economic basis of socialism. That, too, is genocide: the cutting in two of a sovereign state; occupying one half with a reign of terror, effectively ruining the enterprise so dearly paid for by the other half with economic pressures and with calculated investments, to be held in a tight stranglehold. The national unit of 'Vietnam' would not be physically eliminated, but it would no longer exist economically, politically or culturally.

In the North, as in the South, there is a choice between two types of destruction: collective death or disintegration. Most significant is the fact that the American government has felt the measure of NLF and DRV resistance: it knows now that only total destruction will be effective. The Front is more powerful {360} than ever; North Vietnam is resolute. For this very reason, the calculated extermination of the Vietnamese people can only be intended to make them capitulate.

## **THE AMERICANS OFFER THEM PEACE KNOWING THAT IT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. THIS SPURIOUS ALTERNATIVE HIDES THE REAL IMPERIALIST INTENTION, WHICH IS A GRADUAL PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ULTIMATE ESCALATION OF TOTAL GENOCIDE.**

The United States government could have achieved this immediately by a Vietnamese Blitzkrieg. But, apart from the fact that this extermination would

have involved complicated preparations - for example, the construction and unrestricted use of air bases in Thailand, shortening the bombers' journey by 5,000 kilometres - the essential aim of the 'escalation' was and still is, to this day, to prepare bourgeois opinion for genocide. From this point of view, the Americans have succeeded only too well. The repeated and systematic bombing of the densely populated areas of Haiphong and Hanoi, which two years ago would have given rise to violent protests, is carried on today in a sort of general indifference which is more like gangrene than apathy. The trick has worked:

public opinion accepts a constant and imperceptible increase of pressure which is preparing their minds for the final genocide. Is this genocide possible? No. But only because of the Vietnamese, their courage and the admirable efficiency of their organizations. As for the US government, nobody can excuse their crime just because the intelligence and heroism of their victims limits its effects.

One can conclude that, in a 'popular' war (that product of our times, the answer to imperialist aggression and the claim to sovereignty of a people conscious of its own unity) only two attitudes are possible: either the aggressor gives way, makes peace and recognizes that a whole nation is oppressing him; or else, realizing the ineffectiveness of classical strategy, if he can do so without damaging his own interests, he resorts to extermination pure and simple. There is no other choice; but, this choice, at least, is always possible.

While the armed forces of the USA are digging deeper into Vietnam, intensifying the massacres and bombings attempting to subject Laos and intending to invade Cambodia, there is no doubt that the government of the United States, despite all the hypocritical denials, has opted for genocide. {361}

The intention is obvious from the facts. And, as M. Aybar said, it can only be premeditated. It is possible that in the past genocide was committed suddenly, in a flash of passion, in the midst of tribal or feudal conflicts. Anti-guerrilla genocide, however, is a product of our times that necessarily entails organization, bases and, therefore, accomplices (from a distance) and the appropriate budget. It needs to be thought over and planned. Does this mean that those responsible are fully aware of their own intentions? It is difficult to decide: to do so one would have to probe the latent ill-will of puritanical motives.

Maybe some people in the State Department are so used to lying that they still manage to believe that they only want the best for Vietnam. But, after the most recent declarations of their spokesmen, one can presume that there are fewer of these innocents. 'We are defending ourselves: even if the Saigon government asked us to, we would not leave Vietnam', etc. In any case, we do not have to worry about this psychological hide-and-seek. The

truth is to be found on the field, in the racialism of the American troops. Naturally, this racialism - anti-black, anti-Asiatic, anti-Mexican - is a fundamental characteristic which has deep-rooted origins and which existed, latent or apparent, long before the Vietnam war. The proof lies in the United States government's refusal to ratify the Geneva Convention on genocide. This does not mean that ever since 1948 the Americans have intended to exterminate whole peoples but that, according to their own declaration, the Convention would have conflicted with the internal legislation of many of the American

States. In other words, the present leaders consider themselves unshackled in Vietnam today thanks to their predecessors who had wanted to respect the anti-Negro racialism of the South. In any case, ever since 1965,

the racialism of the Yankee soldiers from Saigon to the 17th parallel has increased. The young Americans torture without repugnance, shooting at unarmed women for the pleasure of completing a hat-trick: they kick the wounded Vietnamese in the testicles; they cut off the ears of the dead for trophies. The officers are worst: a general was boasting in front of a Frenchman who testified at the Tribunal of hunting the VC from his helicopter and shooting them down in the rice fields. They were, of course, not NLF fighters, who know how to protect themselves, but peasants working in their rice {362} fields. In these confused American minds the Viet Cong and the Vietnamese tend to become more and more indistinguishable. A common saying is 'The only good Vietnamese is a dead one', or, what comes to the same thing, 'Every dead Vietnamese is a Viet Cong.'

The peasants get ready to harvest the rice south of the 17th parallel. American soldiers come and burn their houses and want to transfer them to a strategic hamlet. The peasants protest. What else can they do bare-handed against these Martians? They say 'The rice is so good; we would like to stay to eat our rice.' No more, but that is enough to exasperate the young Americans: 'It is the Viet Cong who have put this into your heads. It is they who have taught you to resist.' These soldiers are so muddled that they consider as 'subversive' violence the feeble protests that their own violence has provoked. Originally, they were probably disappointed: they came to save Vietnam from Communist aggressors. They soon saw that the Vietnamese actually disliked them. Instead of the attractive role of the liberator they found themselves the occupiers. It was the beginning of self-appraisal: 'They do not want us, we have no business here.' But their protest goes no further: they become angry and simply tell themselves that a Vietnamese is, by definition, a suspect.

There is not a single Vietnamese who is not really a Communist: the proof is their hatred of the Yankees. Here, in the shadowy and robot-like souls of the soldiers, we find the truth about the war in Vietnam: it matches all of Hitler's declarations. He killed the Jews because they were Jews. The armed forces of the United States torture and kill men, women and children in Vietnam because they are Vietnamese. Whatever the lies or nervous hedging of the government, the spirit of genocide is in the soldiers' minds. This is their way of enduring the genocidal situation in which their government has put them. The witness Peter Martinsen, a young student of twenty-three who had 'interrogated' prisoners for six months and could not bear his memories, told us: 'I am an average American, I am like any other student, and here I am a war criminal.' And he was right to add: 'Anyone in my place would have acted as I did.'

His only error was to attribute these degrading crimes to the influence of war in general. No: it is not war in the abstract, but {363} war waged by the largest power against a people of poor peasants, and war lived by those who wage it as the only possible relationship between an overdeveloped nation and an underdeveloped one, that is to say genocide expressed through racialism. The only possible relationship, apart from stopping short and leaving.

Total war implies a certain equilibrium of strength, a certain reciprocity. The colonial wars were waged without reciprocity, but colonial interests limited genocide. This present genocide, the latest development of the unequal progress of societies, is total war waged to the end by one side and with not one particle of reciprocity.

The American government is not guilty of having invented modern genocide, nor even of having chosen it from other possible answers to the guerrilla. It is not guilty - for example - of having preferred it on the grounds of strategy

or economy. In effect, genocide presents itself as the only possible reaction to the insurrection of a whole people against its oppressors. The American government is guilty of having preferred a policy of war and aggression aimed at total genocide to a policy of peace, the only other alternative, because it would have implied a necessary reconsideration of the principal objectives imposed by the big imperialist companies by means of pressure groups. America is guilty of following through and intensifying the war, although each of its leaders daily understands even better, from the reports of the military chiefs, that the only way to win is to rid Vietnam of all the Vietnamese.

It is guilty of being deceitful, evasive, of lying, and lying to itself, embroiling itself every minute a little more, despite the lessons that this unique and unbearable experience has taught, on a path along which there can be no return. It is guilty, by its own admission, of knowingly conducting this war of 'example' to make genocide a challenge and a threat to all peoples. When a peasant dies in his rice field, cut down by a machine-gun, we are all hit. Therefore, the Vietnamese are fighting for all men and the American forces are fighting all of us. Not just in theory or in the abstract. And not only because genocide is a crime universally condemned by the rights of man. But because, little by little, this genocidal blackmail is spreading to all humanity, adding to the blackmail of atomic war. This crime is perpetrated {364} under our eyes every day, making accomplices out of those who do not denounce it.

In this context, the imperialist genocide can become more serious. For the group that the Americans are trying to destroy by means of the Vietnamese nation is the whole of humanity.



Having written his defence of individual freedom and human dignity, **Jean-Paul Sartre** turned his attention to the concept of social responsibility. For many years he had shown great concern for the poor and the disinherited of all kinds. While a teacher, he had refused to wear a tie, as if he could shed his social class with his tie and thus come closer to the worker. Freedom itself, which at times in his previous writings appeared to be a gratuitous activity that needed no particular aim or purpose to be of value, became a tool for human struggle in his brochure *Existentialism and Humanism* (1946). Freedom now implied social responsibility. In his novels and plays Sartre began to bring his ethical message to the world at large. He started a four-volume novel in 1945 under the title *Les Chemins de la liberté*, but after the publication of the third volume, Sartre changed his mind concerning the usefulness of the novel as a medium of communication and turned back to plays.

One play followed another, and all of the plays, in their emphasis upon the raw hostility of man toward man, seem to be predominantly pessimistic; yet, according to Sartre's own confession, their content does not exclude the possibility of a morality of salvation. Other publications of the same period include a book, *Baudelaire* (1947), a vaguely ethical study on the French writer and poet Jean Genet entitled *Saint Genet, Actor and Martyr* (1952), and innumerable articles that were published in *Les Temps Modernes*, the monthly review that Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir founded and edited.

After World War II, Sartre took an active interest in French political movements, and

## COLONIALISM...IS GENOCIDE.

his leanings to the left became more pronounced. He became an outspoken admirer of the Soviet Union, although he did not become a member of the Communist Party. In 1954 he visited the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, Africa, the United States, and Cuba. Upon the entry of Soviet tanks into Budapest in 1956, however, Sartre's hopes for Communism were sadly crushed. He wrote in *Les Temps Modernes* a long article, *Le Fantôme de Staline*, that condemned both the Soviet intervention and the submission of the French Communist Party to the dictates of Moscow. Over the years this critical attitude opened the way to a form of "Sartrean Socialism" that would find its expression in a new major work, *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960). Sartre set out to examine critically the Marxist dialectic and discovered that it did not exist in the Soviet Union, nor could it under the persecution of individual freedom. Although he still believed that Marxism was the only philosophy for the current times, he believed it had become rigid and fixed and that, instead of adapting itself to particular situations as it should, it compelled the particular to fit a predetermined universal, something directly opposed to the philosophy of Historical Materialism. Whatever its fundamental, general principles, Sartre believed that Marxism must learn to recognise the existential concrete circumstances that differ from one collectivity to another and to respect the individual freedom of man. The *Critique*, gained little renown, however, and a projected second volume was abandoned. Instead, Sartre prepared his autobiography (*Words*) for publication, for which he was awarded the 1964 Nobel Prize for Literature, an offer that was refused.



# Reciprocal Bases of National Culture and the Fight for Freedom

*Frantz Fanon*

*- Speech to the Congress of Black African Writers, 1959 -*

Colonial domination, because it is total and tends to over-simplify, very soon manages to disrupt in spectacular fashion the cultural life of a conquered people. This cultural obliteration is made possible by the negation of national reality, by new legal relations introduced by the occupying power, by the banishment of the natives and their customs to outlying districts by colonial society,

by expropriation, and by the systematic enslaving of men and women.

Three years ago at our first congress I showed that, in the colonial situation, dynamism is replaced fairly quickly by a substantiation of the attitudes of the colonising power. The area of culture is then marked off by fences and signposts. These are in fact so many defence mechanisms of the most elementary type, comparable for more than one good reason to the simple instinct for preservation. The interest of this period for us is that the oppressor does not manage to convince himself of the objective non-existence of the oppressed nation and its culture. Every effort is made to bring the colonised person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognise the unreality of his 'nation', and, in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure.

Vis-à-vis this state of affairs, the native's reactions are not unanimous. While the mass of the people maintain intact traditions which are completely different from those of the colonial situation, and the artisan style solidifies into a formalism which is more and more stereotyped, the intellectual throws himself in frenzied fashion into the frantic acquisition of the culture of the occupying power and takes every opportunity of unfavourably criticising his own national culture, or else takes refuge in setting out and substantiating the claims of that culture in a way that is passionate but rapidly becomes unproductive.

The common nature of these two reactions lies in the fact that they both lead to impossible contradictions. Whether a turncoat or a substantialist the native is ineffectual precisely because the analysis of the colonial situation is not carried out on strict lines. The colonial situation calls a halt

to national culture in almost every field. Within the framework of colonial domination there is not and there will never be such phenomena as new cultural departures or changes in the national culture. Here and there valiant attempts are sometimes made to reanimate the cultural dynamic and to give fresh impulses to its themes, its forms and its tonalities. The immediate,

strata. The withering away of the reality of the nation and the death-pangs of the national culture are linked to each other in mutual dependences. This is why it is of capital importance to follow the evolution of these relations during the struggle for national freedom. The negation of the native's culture, the contempt for any manifestation of culture whether active or emotional and the placing outside the pale of all specialised branches of organisation

contribute to breed aggressive patterns of conduct in the native. But these patterns of conduct are of the reflexive type; they are poorly differentiated, anarchic and ineffective. Colonial exploitation, poverty and endemic famine drive the native more and more to open, organised revolt. The necessity for an open and decisive breach is formed progressively and imperceptibly, and comes to be felt by the great majority of the people. Those tensions which

hitherto were non-existent come into being. International events, the collapse of whole sections of colonial empires and the contradictions inherent in the colonial system strengthen and uphold the native's combativity while promoting and giving support to national consciousness.

## THESE NEW-FOUND TENSIONS WHICH ARE PRESENT AT ALL STAGES IN THE REAL NATURE OF COLONIALISM HAVE THEIR REPERCUSSIONS ON THE CULTURAL PLANE.

In literature, for example, there is relative over-production. From being a reply on a minor scale to the dominating power, the literature produced by natives becomes differentiated and makes itself into a will to particularism. The intelligentsia, which during the period of repression was essentially a consuming public, now themselves become producers. This literature at first chooses to confine itself to the tragic and poetic style; but later on novels, short stories and essays are attempted. It is as if a kind of internal organisation or law of expression existed which wills that

poetic expression become less frequent in proportion as the objectives and the methods of the struggle for liberation become more precise. Themes are completely altered; in fact, we find less and less of bitter, hopeless recrimination and less also of that violent, resounding, florid writing which on the whole serves to reassure the occupying power. The colonialists have in former times encouraged these modes of expression and made their existence possible. Stinging denunciations, the exposing of distressing conditions and passions which find their outlet in expression are in fact assimilated by the occupying power in a cathartic process. To aid such processes is in a certain sense to avoid their dramatisation and to clear the atmosphere. But such a situation can only be transitory. In fact, the progress of national consciousness among the people modifies and gives precision to the literary utterances of the native intellectual. The continued cohesion of the people constitutes for the intellectual an invitation to go farther than his cry of protest. The lament first makes the indictment; then it makes an appeal. In the period that follows, the words of command are heard. The crystallisation of the national consciousness will both disrupt literary styles and themes, and also create a completely new public. While at the beginning the native intellectual used to produce his work to be read exclusively by the oppressor, whether with the intention of charming him or of denouncing him through ethical or subjectivist means, now the native writer progressively takes on the habit of addressing his own people.

It is only from that moment that we can speak of a national literature. Here there is, at the level of literary creation, the taking up and clarification of themes which are typically nationalist. This may be properly called a literature of combat, in the sense that it calls on the whole people to fight for their existence as a nation. It is a literature of combat, because it moulds the national consciousness, giving it form and contours and flinging open before it new and boundless horizons; it is a literature of combat because it assumes responsibility, and because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space.

On another level, the oral tradition - stories, epics and songs of the people - which formerly were filed away as set pieces are now beginning to change. The storytellers who used to relate inert episodes now bring them alive and introduce into them modifications which are increasingly fundamental. There is a tendency to bring conflicts up to date and to modernise the kinds of struggle which the stories evoke, together with the names of heroes and the types of weapons.

The method of allusion is more and more widely used. The formula 'This all happened long ago' is substituted by that of 'What we are going to speak of happened somewhere else, but it might well have happened here today,



palpable and obvious interest of such leaps ahead is nil. But if we follow up the consequences to the very end we see that preparations are being thus made to brush the cobwebs off national consciousness to question oppression and to open up the struggle for freedom.

A national culture under colonial domination is a contested culture whose destruction is sought in systematic fashion. It very quickly becomes a culture condemned to secrecy. This idea of clandestine culture is immediately seen in the reactions of the occupying power which interprets attachment to traditions as faithfulness to the spirit of the nation and as a refusal to submit. This persistence in following forms of culture which are already condemned to extinction is already a demonstration of nationality; but it is a demonstration which is a throw-back to the laws of inertia. There is no taking of the offensive and no redefining of relationships. There is simply a concentration on a hard core of culture which is becoming more and more shrivelled up, inert and empty.

By the time a century or two of exploitation has passed there comes about a veritable emaciation of the stock of national culture. It becomes a set of automatic habits, some traditions of dress and a few broken-down institutions. Little movement can be discerned in such remnants of culture; there is no real creativity and no overflowing life. The poverty of the people, national oppression and the inhibition of culture are one and the same thing. After a century of colonial domination we find a culture which is rigid in the extreme, or rather what we find are the dregs of culture, its mineral

The contact of the people with the new movement gives rise to a new rhythm of life and to forgotten muscular tensions, and develops the imagination. Every time the storyteller relates a fresh episode to his public, he presides over a real invocation. The existence of a new type of man is revealed to the public. The present is no longer turned in upon itself but spread out for all to see. The storyteller once more gives free rein to his imagination; he makes innovations and he creates a work of art. It even happens that the characters, which are barely ready for such a transformation - highway robbers or more or less antisocial vagabonds - are taken up and remodelled. The emergence of the imagination and of the creative urge in the songs and epic stories of a colonised country is worth following.

The storyteller replies to the expectant people by successive approximations, and makes his way, apparently alone but in fact helped on by his public, towards the seeking out of new patterns, that is to say national patterns. Comedy and farce disappear, or lose their attraction. As for dramatisation, it is no longer placed on the plane of the troubled intellectual and his

tormented conscience. By losing its characteristics of despair and revolt, the drama becomes part of the common lot of the people and forms part of an action in preparation or already in progress. Where handicrafts are concerned, the forms of expression which formerly were the dregs of art, surviving as if in a daze, now begin to reach out. Woodwork, for example, which formerly turned out certain faces and attitudes by the million, begins to be differentiated. The inexpressive or overwrought mask comes to life and the arms tend to be raised from the body as if to sketch an action. Compositions containing two, three or five figures appear. The traditional schools are led on to creative efforts by the rising avalanche of amateurs or of critics. This new vigour in this sector of cultural life very often passes unseen; and yet its contribution to the national effort is of capital importance. By carving figures and faces which are full of life, and by taking as his theme a group fixed on the same pedestal, the artist invites participation in an organised movement.

If we study the repercussions of the awakening of national consciousness in the domains of ceramics and pottery-making, the same observations may be drawn. Formalism is abandoned in the craftsman's work. Jugs, jars and trays are modified, at first imperceptibly, then almost savagely. The colours, of which formerly there were but few and which obeyed the traditional rules of harmony, increase in number and are influenced by the repercussion of the rising revolution. Certain ochres and blues, which seemed forbidden to all eternity in a given cultural area, now assert themselves without giving rise to scandal. In the same way the stylisation of the human face, which according to sociologists is typical of very clearly defined regions, becomes suddenly completely relative. The specialist coming from the home country and the ethnologist are quick to note these changes. On the whole such changes are condemned in the name of a rigid code of artistic style and of a cultural life which grows up at the heart of the colonial system. The colonialist specialists do not recognise these new forms and rush to the help of the traditions of the indigenous society. It is the colonialists who become the defenders of the native style. We remember perfectly, and the example took on a certain measure of

importance since the real nature of colonialism was not involved, the reactions of the white jazz specialists when after the Second World War new styles such as the be-bop took definite shape.

The fact is that in their eyes jazz should only be the despairing, broken-down nostalgia of an old Negro who is trapped between five glasses of whisky, the curse of his race, and the racial hatred of the white men. As soon as the Negro comes to an understanding of himself, and understands the rest of the world differently, when he gives birth to hope and forces back the racist universe, it is clear that his trumpet sounds more clearly and his voice less hoarsely. The new fashions in jazz are not simply born of economic competition. We must without any doubt see in them one of the consequences of the defeat, slow but sure, of the southern world of the United States. And it is not utopian to suppose that in fifty years' time the type of jazz howl hiccapped by a poor misfortunate Negro will be upheld only by the whites who believe in it as an expression of niggerhood, and who are faithful to this arrested image of a type of relationship.

We might in the same way seek and find in dancing, singing, and traditional rites and ceremonies the same upward-springing trend, and make out the same changes and the same impatience in this field. Well before the political or fighting phase of the national movement an attentive spectator can thus feel and see the manifestation of new vigour and feel the approaching conflict. He will note unusual forms of expression and themes which are fresh and imbued with a power which is no longer that of invocation but rather of the assembling of the people, a summoning together for a precise purpose. Everything works together to awaken the native's sensibility and to make unreal and unacceptable the contemplative attitude, or the acceptance of defeat. The native rebuilds his perceptions because he renews the purpose and dynamism of the craftsmen, of dancing and music and of literature and the oral tradition. His world comes to lose its accursed character. The conditions necessary for the inevitable conflict are brought together.

We have noted the appearance of the movement in cultural forms and we have seen that this movement and these new forms are linked to the state of maturity of the national consciousness. Now, this movement tends more and more to express itself objectively, in institutions. From thence comes the need for a national existence, whatever the cost.

A frequent mistake, and one which is moreover hardly justifiable is to try to find cultural expressions for and to give new values to native culture within the framework of colonial domination. This is why we arrive at a proposition which at first sight seems paradoxical: the fact that in a colonised country the most elementary, most savage and the most undifferentiated nationalism is the most fervent and efficient means of defending national culture. For culture is first the expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns. It is at every stage of the whole of society that other taboos, values and patterns are formed. A national culture is the sum total of all these appraisals; it is the result of internal and external extensions exerted over society as a whole and also at every level of that society. In the colonial situation, culture, which is

doubly deprived of the support of the nation and of the state, falls away and dies. The condition for its existence is therefore national liberation and the renaissance of the state.

The nation is not only the condition of culture, its fruitfulness, its continuous renewal, and its deepening. It is also a necessity. It is the fight for national existence which sets culture moving and opens to it the doors of creation. Later on it is the nation which will ensure the conditions and framework necessary to culture. The nation gathers together the various indispensable elements necessary for the creation of a culture, those elements which alone can give it credibility, validity, life and creative power. In the same way it is its national character that will make such a culture open to other cultures and which will enable it to influence and permeate other cultures. A non-existent culture can hardly be expected to have bearing on reality, or to influence reality. The first necessity is the re-establishment of the nation in order to give life to national culture in the strictly biological sense of the phrase.

Thus we have followed the break-up of the old strata of culture, a shattering which becomes increasingly fundamental; and we have noticed, on the eve of the decisive conflict for national freedom, the renewing of forms of expression and the rebirth of the imagination. There remains one essential question: what are the relations between the struggle - whether political or military - and culture? Is there a suspension of culture during the conflict? Is the national struggle an expression of a culture? Finally, ought one to say that the battle for freedom, however fertile a posteriori with regard to culture, is in itself a negation of culture? In short is the struggle for liberation a cultural phenomenon or not?

We believe that the conscious and organised undertaking by a colonised people to re-establish the sovereignty of that nation constitutes the most complete and obvious cultural manifestation that exists. It is not alone the success of the struggle which afterwards gives validity and vigour to culture; culture is not put into cold storage during the conflict. The struggle itself in its development and in its internal progression sends culture along different paths and traces out entirely new ones for it. The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or the content of the people's culture. After the conflict there is not only the disappearance of colonialism but also the disappearance of the colonised man.

This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others. It is prefigured in the objectives and methods of the conflict. A struggle which mobilises all classes of the people and which expresses their aims and their impatience, which is not afraid to count almost exclusively on the people's support, will of necessity triumph. The value of this type of conflict is that it supplies the maximum of conditions necessary for the development and aims of culture. After national freedom has been obtained in these conditions, there is no such painful cultural indecision which is found in certain countries which are newly independent, because the nation by its manner of coming into being and in the terms of its existence exerts a fundamental influence over culture. A nation which is born of the people's concerted action and which embodies the real aspirations of the

people while changing the state cannot exist save in the expression of exceptionally rich forms of culture.

The natives who are anxious for the culture of their country and who wish to give to it a universal dimension ought not therefore to place their confidence in the single principle of inevitable, undifferentiated independence written into the consciousness of the people in order to achieve their task. The liberation of the nation is one thing; the methods and popular content of the fight are another. It seems to me that the future of national culture and its riches are equally also part and parcel of the values which have ordained the struggle for freedom.

And now it is time to denounce certain pharisees. National claims, it is here and there stated, are a phase that humanity has left behind. It is the day of great concerted actions, and retarded nationalists ought in consequence to set their mistakes aright. We, however, consider that the mistake, which may have very serious consequences, lies in wishing to skip the national period. If culture is the expression of national consciousness, I will not hesitate to affirm that in the case with which we are dealing it is the national consciousness which is the most elaborate form of culture.

The consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication. Philosophic thought teaches us, on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension. This problem of national consciousness and of national culture takes on in Africa a special dimension. The birth of national consciousness in Africa has a strictly contemporaneous connexion with the African consciousness. The responsibility of the African as regards national culture is also a responsibility with regard to African-Negro culture. This joint responsibility is not the fact of a metaphysical principle but the awareness of a simple rule which wills that every independent nation in an Africa where colonialism is still entrenched is an encircled nation, a nation which is fragile and in permanent danger.

If man is known by his acts, then we will say that the most urgent thing today for the intellectual is to build up his nation. If this building up is true, that is to say if it interprets the manifest will of the people and reveals the eager African peoples, then the building of a nation is of necessity accompanied by the discovery and encouragement of universalising values. Far from keeping aloof from other nations, therefore, it is national liberation which leads the nation to play its part on the stage of history. It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this two-fold emerging is ultimately the source of all culture.

and it might happen tomorrow'. The example of Algeria is significant in this context. From 1952-3 on, the storytellers, who were before that time stereotyped and tedious to listen to, completely overturned their traditional methods of storytelling and the contents of their tales. Their public, which was formerly scattered, became compact. The epic, with its typified categories, reappeared; it became an authentic form of entertainment which took on once more a cultural value. Colonialism made no mistake when from 1955 on it proceeded to arrest these storytellers systematically.





## Reality Corner:

### *Why do people like* **Chauncey Warrington Hildredth III, Esq.**

*refuse to read Indigenist World?*

*We understand how irritating it is for people like Mr. Hildredth III to be reminded that most, if not all, of the other people in the world that look like him are treated as little more than expendable capitalist cannon fodder.*

*But of course, he feels that he is the grand exception to this rule. After all, he made all the right moves; worked hard to get into the right trade or correspondence schools and he laboured diligently to become the only "Model Minority" in his white-collar firm. And now that he has several credit cards; a sub-prime "ghetto mortgage"; a vehicle note; education loans and group Pilates classes to be concerned about, he has conveniently forgotten about his history and origins once he decided to cast his pitiful lot with the extant colonialist power structure.*

*We cop-on to the fact that when people like this are collectively associated with "opinionated minorities" like us, they get angry.*

*Too bad. Folks like Mr. Hildredth III might allow themselves to believe that they are "special", but we are here to tell them that they are not immune from what the rest of us have to deal with on a daily basis.*

*Unlike the rest of us, these "Vichy Subjects" are pathologically willing to embrace and support the marble arse of the "Man" without breaking a sweat or suffering from a loss significant loss of dignity. While they actively support a system of institutional social inequality justified by irrational racial biases that directly effect their own people and many, many others tells us that lost souls like Mr. Hildredth III need us more than they might realise.*

*Using grassroots media to liberate the colonialised mind -*

## **Indigenist World**

*Free to the Peoples of the Fourth World and other interested persons.*

# Missing or murdered native women list grows to 582

## *Seeking Justice for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women*

OTTAWA — A new report has added 62 more names to a growing list of missing or murdered aboriginal women and girls.

The report by the Native Women's Association of Canada pegs the total at at least 582.

The report says the data is limited by the way information is collected — there's no national missing-persons database and police records don't always indicate aboriginal status.

The Sisters in Spirit initiative led the five-year project to document and report on cases of missing and murdered aboriginal women and girls.

The report found that aboriginal females are more likely to be killed by a stranger than non-aboriginal women.

It says many victims are targeted simply because they are aboriginal and their attackers assume they will not fight back or be missed.

"The stories shared by families, communities, and friends also tell us that many missing and murdered women and girls were 'vulnerable' only insofar as they were aboriginal and they were women," the report says.

"The over-representation of aboriginal women in Canada as victims of violence must be understood in the context of a colonial strategy that sought to dehumanize aboriginal women."

Nearly half of all murder cases involving First Nations, Metis and Inuit women and girls remain unsolved. The rate is dramatically different for cases where non-aboriginal women are murdered, where 84 per cent are cleared by charges or other means.

Most of the missing and murdered women are mothers and grandmothers who leave children behind.

"It goes without saying that children will experience trauma after such incidents, regardless of their age," the report says.

"If these wounds are not healed and

children carry this pain with them into adulthood, a cycle of intergenerational trauma may well result."

The data is drawn from the last three decades, with 153 of the cases occurring between 2000 and 2008. Most of the women in the database were murdered, while 115 are still missing.

Most of the deaths and disappearances occurred in western provinces, but there are missing or murdered women recorded in all regions and territories.

Most cases occurred in urban areas — 70 per cent of women and girls disappeared from an urban area and 60 per cent were murdered in another.

More than half of the murdered and missing women and girls were under the age of 31.

OTAWA - nova raporto havas aldon 62 pli nomojn al kreskas liston de perdiĝ aŭ murd indigenaj virinoj kaj fraŭlinoj.

La raporto de la Indigeno Virina Asocio de Kanado fiksas la totalon ĉe almenaŭ 582. La raporto diras la donitaĵojn estas limig parenteze informojn estas kolektita - mankas naciajn perdiĝpersonojn datumaron kaj polico rekordoj ne ĉiam indik indigena statuso.

La Fratinoj Spirite iniciato gvidis la kvinjaran projekton dokumenti kaj raporto pri kazoj de perdiĝanta kaj murditajn indigenajn virinojn kaj fraŭlinojn.

La raporto trovis ke indigenaj virinoj estas pli probable .otaj mortigita de nekonato ol neindigenajn virinojn. Ĝi diras multajn viktimojn estas celita nur ĉar

ili estas indigena kaj iliaj atencantoj supoz ili .os ne kontraŭatak aŭ est maltraf.

"La rakontoj komuna al familioj, komunumoj, kaj amikoj ankaŭ diri al ni ke multaj perdiĝ kaj murditajn virinojn kaj fraŭlinojn estis 'vulnerable' nura tial, ke ili estis indigena kaj ili estis virinoj," la raporto diras.

"La superrepresentado de indigenaj virinoj en Kanado kiel viktimoj de perforto dev esti kompren en la kunteksto de kolonia strategio tio prov senhumanig indigenajn virinojn."

Preskaŭ duono el ĉiuj murdo kazoj okupantaj Unuaj Landoj, Metis kaj Inuitaj virinoj kaj fraŭlinoj restas nesolvita.

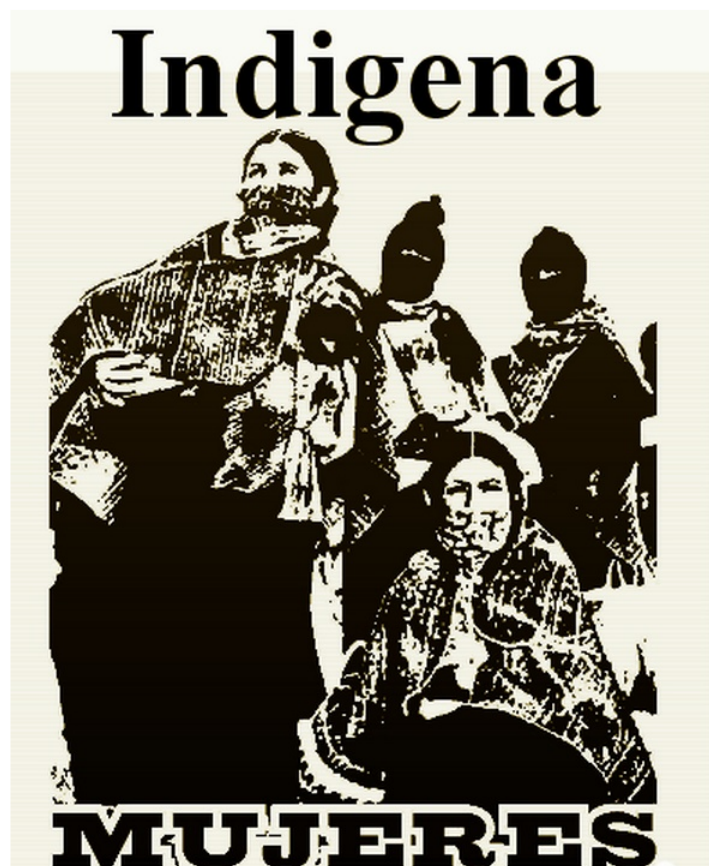
La indico estas draste malsama por kazoj kie neindigenajn virinojn estas murdita, kie 84 procentoj estas malbarita de akuzoj aŭ alia signif. La plimulto de la perdiĝ kaj murditajn virinojn estas patrinoj kaj avinoj kiuj(n) lasas infanojn kiu respondec pri. (estas) memkompreneble ke infanoj spertos traŭmato post tiela okazaĵoj, sen konsidero de ilia aĝo," la raporto diras.

"Se ĉi tiuj vundoj ne resanigita kaj infanoj portas ĉi tiu doloro kun ili en plenaĝeco, ciklo de intergenerational traŭmato verŝajne .os rezulto." La donitaĵoj estas el la fina tri jardekoj, kun 153 de la kazoj okazanta inter 2000 kaj 2008.

La plimulto de la virinoj en la datumaro estis murd, dum 115 ankoraŭ estas perdiĝ. La plimulto de la mortoj kaj malaperoj okazis en okcidentaj provincoj, sed estas perdiĝanta aŭ murditajn virinojn registris en ĉiuj regionoj kaj teritorioj.

Plej kazoj okazis en urbanizaĵoj - 70 procentoj de virinoj kaj fraŭlinoj malaperita de urbanizaĵo kaj 60 procentoj estis murd en alia.

Pli ol duono de la murdita kaj perdiĝ virinojn kaj fraŭlinoj estis sub la aĝo de 31.



*Please Visit:*

<http://www.missingjustice.ca/>

A Journal of Indigenous Anti-Colonialist Opinion



# Indigenist Thoughts About a "Random American Bombardment"

## PRESS RELEASE

### *Aboriginal News Group Press Statement - 06.09.2010 (Revised:06.14.2010)*

"If certain acts and violations of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them. We are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us."

-- Justice Robert H. Jackson, Prosecutor, Nürnberg War Crimes Trials

To the Original Peoples of the Fourth World and all International Press Services:

At this time, the editors of the Aboriginal News Group wish to extend our condolences and solidarity to the families, friends and colleagues of Reuters journalists Namir Noor-Eldeen, Saeed Chmagh, and to the other innocent Iraqi non-combatants shot to death as the result of an unprovoked aerial assault on the civilian neighbourhood of New Baghdad on July 12th, 2007 by American military forces. It is in the spirit and desire for justice, peace and an end to the war and occupation that we present the following commentary:

As of this writing, more than 2.5 million people have viewed a copy of a classified military video that was clandestinely obtained, analysed and eventually made public on April 5th of this year, at great personal risk, by wikileaks.org, a citizen-journalism portal that specialises in making whistle-blower data available to the general public. Presented as a piece of evidence, this video has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the 2007 incident was not only unnecessary but completely inconsistent with the initially-reported "dangerous conditions" on the ground that supposedly led to the attack in the first place.<sup>2</sup>

Although it is duly acknowledged that skirmishes had occurred earlier that morning in a related region, (the very reason for the presence of the two Reuters reporters) there was no visible fighting or disturbances on the street in which Noor-Eldeen, Chmagh and the other unfortunate victims were walking through. Not only does the video show in graphic detail the vicious needlessness of the initial shooting attack, but more importantly, it documents the purely sadistic second attack on the family, which included two young children, that stopped to rescue a severely wounded survivor of the initial ambush.

This is very bad business indeed, and there is little a civilised person can say about a case in which more than a dozen innocent civilians are shot and killed without reasonable cause by American military personnel other than to state what is blatantly obvious. This incident is not simply another story about the unfortunate casualties of war, it is an empirical testament as to why the United States has absolutely no business occupying, much less waging war against, the people of the nation of Iraq. This massacre is a particularly gruesome and undeniably illuminating example of a war crime in progress and it deserves due recognition as such under the established rules of international law.

Without reservation, the editors of The Aboriginal News Group roundly condemns the unprovoked attack on our fellow journalists and the other innocent Iraqi civilians wrongfully shot to death in the residential community of New Baghdad, Iraq, 06:21:09 Zulu Time, July 12th, 2007 as an act of unmitigated colonialist violence. In our view, the video documentation of this incident is empirical evidence of clear violations of the US military Rules of Engagement for Iraq; the established principles of international law as recognised by the Fourth Geneva Convention in relation to the protection of civilian persons in time of war; the "Martens Clause" addendum to the Hague Convention of 1899;<sup>3</sup> the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court<sup>4</sup> (adopted 07.17.1998); the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314 5 (adopted 12.14.1974) and Principles: IV, VI(b)(c); The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (General Assembly Resolution 260) and VII of the 1945-46 Nürnberg Trials as codified in draft by the International Law Commission 6 as it concerns the definition of war crimes as acts of:

"Violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation of slave labor or for any other purpose of the civilian population of or in occupied territory; murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the Seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity".<sup>7</sup>

While we wholeheartedly support the growing public demand that the Obama administration immediately compel the United States military to objectively reinvestigate this matter without delay or prejudice, the Aboriginal News Group does not believe that the US government can be expected to investigate or judge its own illicit use of deadly military force impartially. Instead, we call for the creation of an autonomous, citizen-led review commission based on the model of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunals of 1966-67 that would serve to critically reaffirm the rule of international law and the responsibilities of combative states to protect common citizens from unwarranted military violence.

This international commission would independently and objectively investigate the 2007 'New Baghdad Massacre' by attempting to answer the following questions:

1- Did US military helicopter crews randomly and eagerly decide to attack non-aggressive human targets of a purely civilian character in a residential Iraqi neighbourhood without reasonable cause on July 12th 2007?

And,

2- Did the US military political and public relations structure purposefully misrepresent this incident to the international press?

This citizen's commission should also be permitted to objectively observe any official investigations into this matter as a demonstration of bureaucratic transparency and faith in the public's right to know. This commission should also pledge that the proceedings and final report of such investigations will be made readily available, unredacted, to all interested parties and the international press.

This particular case stands out as an atrocity of historical dimensions primarily because it presents the entire western community with a direct empirical challenge to its political passivity and ethical hypocrisy in the face of a bold lie. Even in the considerable wake of the public release of this disturbing video, the Pentagon still stubbornly stands by what was originally reported to the mainstream media, including Reuters, in 2007 when Lt. Col. Scott Bleichwehl, representing US and coalition forces in Iraq told the press:

"There is no question that coalition forces were clearly engaged in combat operations against a hostile force..."<sup>8</sup>

The day after the incident, the Reuters agency described the tragedy this way:

"The cause of their deaths is unclear. The US military issued a statement describing the incident as a firefight with insurgents and said the killings were being investigated. Witnesses interviewed by Reuters said they saw no gunmen in the immediate area and that there had been a US helicopter attack, which police described as "random American bombardment"."<sup>9</sup>

This video is clearly just one example among many within an unending series of brutal war crimes brought down upon the general citizenry of Iraq. We feel that the usage of the word "random" by Iraqi police within this context is of great explanatory value, as it confirms the numerous independent news reports that described the use of indiscriminate military violence against non-combatant Iraqi civilians during the occupation. To his credit, Gen. Stanley McChrystal, the current US Commander of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Commander of the U.S. Forces in Afghanistan (USFOR-A) recently substantiated these reports when he admitted that these incidents in fact do occur with an alarming frequency. According to Gen. McChrystal:

"I do want to say something that everyone understands. We really ask a lot of our young service people out on the checkpoints because there's danger, they're asked to make very rapid decisions in often very unclear situations. However, to my knowledge, in the nine-plus months I've been here, not a single case where we have engaged in an escalation of force incident and hurt someone has it turned out that the vehicle had a suicide bomb or weapons in it and, in many cases, had families in it. That doesn't mean I'm criticizing the people who are executing. I'm just giving you perspective. We've shot an amazing number of people and killed a number and, to my knowledge, none has proven to have been a real threat to the force."<sup>10</sup>

While it appears unusual, the surprising candour expressed in these statements are not expressions of remorse or the acceptance of moral and professional responsibility for imperialist injustice. They are at heart examples of contemporary Orwellian banality, the expression-less American Euro-settler tolerance for xenophobic-justified atrocities in the name of "Americanism" and "democracy" against "worthwhile" victims casually identified as "The Other". The US occupation is not about "peace", it is attempting to create a sustainable and workable colonial social order of capitalist indoctrination in the effort to win over the "hearts and minds" of the Iraqi people. But with ever-increasing levels of war stress, stop-loss and troops unaware that they are burdened by the subconscious cultural-trauma of more than 500 years of racist, pro-Europocentric colonialist oppression, it comes as no surprise to us that American troops are losing positive control over their inner-colonialist demons while serving in Iraq, Afghanistan and other hostile locations where the United States has a military and economic interest.

While the New York Times has reported that under Gen. McChrystal's command the United Nations has documented a 28 percent reduction in civilian casualties in the last year,<sup>11</sup> this does not take away from the fact that coalition occupation forces, privately employed mercenaries and corrupt US-recruited native troops often use defenceless Iraqi citizens for target practise and occasionally as literal human punching-bags for their personal amusement and psychological 'war-guilt' vomitus.<sup>12</sup> One such recent case involved the February 12th killing of two pregnant women, a teenage girl, a policeman and his brother during a raid by US forces in in Kabul, Afghanistan.

There is little doubt that this story was originally suppressed by both the US military and the mainstream news media and we now know that US special forces personnel actually crudely removed their own bullets from their victims bodies and then cleansed the wound with chemicals before submitting a false report about the incident. Under mounting pressure, NATO officials eventually admitted responsibility for the deaths, but continue to deny that a cover-up ever took place and maintain that there exists no credible evidence of inappropriate military conduct.

Further, international news agencies such as Reuters have repeatedly criticised the use of hostile force against their employees by the US military. Reports of journalists being detained by US forces include stories of physical and sexual abuse in their custody, and in one account from 2004, three Reuters employees were severely beaten and threatened with further violence by US military personnel in base near Fallujah. Counterpunch's Patrick Cockburn reported in July of 2007 that:

## **+ SOLDIERS LAUGHED, TAUNTED, ABUSED, PHOTOGRAPHED AND DEGRADED THEM BY FORCING THEM TO INSERT THEIR FINGERS UP THEIR ANUSES AND THEN LICK THEM."13**

Perhaps this is an obvious point, but all of this clearly illustrates that the United States military war machine has yet again shown itself to be little more than a willing agent of brutal anti-human physical destruction under the auspices of defending the laudable ideals of "freedom and democracy". As Indigenous people we point to the painfully obvious "colonialist attitudes" displayed by the helicopter crews clearly intent on opening fire on the pedestrians milling peacefully below them. We perceive this to be nothing less than "Indian Hunting", the colonialist practise of indiscriminately seeking out native citizenry to violently prey upon and perhaps the ugliest by-product of all wars and conflict. The audio commentary overheard during the video is without qualification disgusting, but it provides us with further evidence of the obvious disregard many US military personnel have developed towards the human rights and safety of Iraq's civilian society.

The testosterone-fuelled eagerness and abject merriment of the soldiers involved in this atrocity we feel reflects much more than military insensitivity, it is indicative of the socio-political culture, history and spirit of American Euro-settler colonialist aggression. This video makes it abundantly clear that these "American" soldiers were consciously seeking out someone, anyone, to shoot at and possibly kill, simply for the mere "sport" of it. We feel that for all accounts and purposes, these troops acted as if they were playing a "Cowboys and Indians" video game in real-time and that understanding of this historical dynamic is manifestly critical towards comprehending the deeper meanings beneath both the tactless dialog overheard during this atrocity as well as the very occupation of Iraq itself.

As Indigenous people, we understand viscerally the contradictions raised by this document. It shows brazen and inexcusable conduct unbecoming of any professional army anywhere in the world, but it is exceedingly heinous when such acts are performed by the supposedly "democratic" and "moral" armies of Pax Americana. In the land of the free and the home of the brave, the Obama administration has declined to comment at length on the circumstances surrounding this incident other than to suggest that such things happen in war time. And while the Pentagon does admit that the video is an authentic document, (perhaps one day they will happen to locate their own "lost" copy)14 they still authoritatively maintain that their personnel acted appropriately and in accordance with the "rules of war". To add further insult to injury, official sources are also insisting that no special investigations will be conducted to empirically deconstruct the root causes behind this terrible event.15 Predictably, the mainstream corporate-owned US news stream has already forgotten about the story.16

As Indigenous people, the editors of the Aboriginal News Group respectfully point to the sober observations of US Justice Robert Jackson who repeatedly reiterated during and in the years following the Nürnberg trials that the crimes in which he sat in judgment were crimes of indiscriminate violence against people, regardless of intent and no respect to which nations in the world may happen to commit the act. However, when the Nürnberg Principles are raised in regards to the behaviour of the United States and its treatment of Indigenous and occupied peoples at home and abroad, the discourse almost always sinks into a morass of nationalistic, theological and ultimately racist Europocentric excuses for Western Empire and Judeo-Christian hegemony.

In our view it is not by chance or mistake that the helicopters used in the 2007 attack are called "Apache", or that one of the mission crews used "Crazyhorse" as an identification monicker. As conscious Indigenous people, we understand that the imperio-colonialist's subconscious rationale behind the utterly disrespectful use of these and other proud North American Indigenous names and symbols is concretely indicative of their lack of comprehension, compassion or sense of responsibility towards the victims of their violent belligerence.

It is not overstating the argument to insist that the United States republic suffers from its own unique form of holocaust denial. This denial is manifested in the love-hate relationship US Euro-settlers and their self-colonialised non-European lackeys have with America's First Peoples and most of its ex-slave African population. This analysis is evidenced by the considerable social and racial unease that has emerged in the United States following the election of Barack Obama. As one of our editors has insightfully observed, the use of Indigenous names, symbolisms and racial epithets by the US military and other security-focused systems is more than simple cultural misappropriation, it is a wholly intentional and pitiful attempt to harness the actual identities of these Original Peoples and the other nations they have unsympathetically conquered through violence. He continues his Indigenist analysis by observing that:

"The Lakota were never defeated in battle with the U.S. and so with that spirit, the Americans including their military, use invocations coded in their command identifications as if they are summoning the supernatural or even Crazy Horse's diety to help them not lose in battle or any campaign. This is why the Lakota or Apache are always used because of our "never give up" spirit. They can never, ever become Lakota or Apache."

The international Aboriginal community has been aware for some time that American military personnel and private mercenary units such as those employed by Blackwater/Xe regularly refer to Iraqis as "Indians", "Redskins", "Injuns", "Savages" and "Niggers" who are receiving righteous "payback for 9/11".17 For the

uninitiated, these terms are traditional racial epithets in the United States and are still used in negative reference to North America's Original and African Peoples. In light of the undeniably colonial and imperialist nature of the US occupation of Iraq, it comes as no surprise to us that the Iraq and Afghan peoples are defined as "Indians" and "Niggers".18 It is obvious that Iraq's Arabs are also being viewed by some American troops as yet another sub-human "other race" that many may be misinterpreting as a license to kill.19

The Aboriginal News Group believes that the application of these specific racially derogatory terms in reference to Iraq's Arab population more than anything else substantiates the Indigenist argument that American Euro-settler colonialism is the real US mission in Occupied Iraq, not the pursuit of western-style democratic reform. In short, the invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq is nothing more than a contemporary act of "Manifest Destiny" and any honest accounting of this crisis must begin from that historical juncture. There exists no credible intellectual excuse to ignore such an analysis as it relates directly to what led to the "New Baghdad Massacre" and the current establishment's official and unofficial disdain for transparency on this and many other similar instances of indiscriminate US, coalition and private mercenary abuses of military power.

The psychological remnants of this anti-Indigenous colonialist history can also be seen in the American campaign against the Japanese Empire in the 1940's. US troops were known to execute, torture and mutilate the corpses of captured and surrendering Japanese troops. According to Simon Harrison, author of "Skull Trophies of the Pacific War: Transgressive objects of Remembrance", among the Japanese war dead repatriated from the Pacific immediately following the war, nearly 60 percent of the cadavers were shipped home without their heads. 20 Once the war moved to mainland Japan, US troops began committing other atrocities such as the sexual assault of more than 4,336 Japanese women during the first few days of the US occupation.21 Numerous military officers and historians at the time, including in the contemporary era, have attributed this behaviour, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the long-held American perception that Asians were a sinister and malevolent "Eastern subhuman race" and therefore not deserving of humane treatment or civil respect during wartime or social weakness. These dangerous anti-Asian attitudes were to emerge again in Vietnam, most notably during the 03.16.1968 massacre at My Lai (Pinkville).

If we are to understand how such things can occur in the contemporary era of international moral and legal recognition for the human rights of all peoples and the rights of sovereign states to be free from unwarranted aggression, let us begin at the beginning. To fully comprehend the nature of this particular Western Asian occupation, it is imperative to understand the earlier North American occupation that became the operational model for all others the United States would later undertake.

In sum, the "Indian Wars" are far from over, and its high time that all the militaries of the world take responsibilities for their violent actions against the human rights of all peoples. In particular the common, non-combatant civilians unwillingly caught up in the insanity of armed conflict.

Stop the violence by stopping the war.

The Aboriginal News Group

--

The Aboriginal News Group is an international association of Indigenist blog-journalists working to provide accurate under-reported Indigenous news items to the people of the Fourth World and others with a concern for human justice and Aboriginal political issues.

--

Footnotes:

- 1- Dupre', Deborah. "Pentagon targets Wiki Whistleblowers for exposing its dirty secrets", Human Rights Examiner, 03.27.2010
- 2- Fromm, Charles. "US-IRAQ: Leaked Video of Shooting Spurs Calls for New Probe", Inter-Press Service, 04, 06, 2010
- 3- "Laws of War: Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague II); July 29, 1899. archived in the Avalon Project at Yale Law School. Source: Wikipedia.
- 4- Scharf, Michael P. "Results of the Rome Conference for an International Criminal Court. The American Society of International Law", Pub: August 1998
- 5- United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314 defines the crime of aggression. Acts of aggression are defined as armed invasions or attacks, bombardments, blockades, armed violations of territory, permitting other states to use one's own territory to perpetrate acts of aggression and the employment of armed irregulars or mercenaries to carry out acts of aggression. The definition's distinction between an act of aggression and a war of aggression make it clear that not every act of aggression would constitute a crime against peace; only war of aggression does. States would nonetheless be held responsible for acts of aggression. Source: Wikipedia.
- 6- Report: "Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nürnberg Tribunal and in the Judgement of the Tribunal". Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1950, vol. II. Source: Wikipedia
- 7- Principles of International Law Recognized in the Charter of the Nürnberg Tribunal and in the Judgment of the Tribunal, 1950.
- 8- Bumiller, Elisabeth. "Video Shows U.S. Killing of Reuters Employees", NYT April 5, 2010
- 9- "Reuters journalists killed in Baghdad", 2007-07-13 11:11:07. ReutersLink News : <http://www.reuterslink.org/news/reuterskilledjournos.htm>
- 10- Elliott, Justin. "Gen. McChrystal: We've Shot 'An Amazing Number Of People' Who Were Not Threats", TPM, April 2, 2010.
- 11- Oppel Jr., Richard A. "Tighter Rules Fail to Stem Deaths of Innocent Afghans at Checkpoints", NYT, March 26, 2010.
- 12- "Autopsy reports reveal homicides of detainees in U.S. custody", ACLU. 10.24.2005. (<http://action.aclu.org/torturefoia/released/102405/>).
- 13- Cockburn, Patrick. "Journalist in the Iraq War Zone", counterpunch, 07.16.2010.
- 14- BBC News: "US military 'trying to retrieve' Iraq killings video" 7th, April 2010.
- 15- "Admin Refuses to Call for Probe of US Killing of Iraqis", democracynow.org: 04.07.2010.
- 16- "Iraq Killings and Media Indifference: Leaked video mostly ignored by corporate media", fair.org: 04.07.2010.
- 17- Schulman, Daniel. "Justice Dept.: Blackwater Contractor Saw Killing Iraqis as 9/11 Payback", motherjones.com, Sep. 8, 2009.
- 18- Scallih, Jeremy. "Blackwater Accused of Racism on Its Anti-Piracy Ship", rebelreports.com.
- 19- Gardner, David. "'Ha ha, I hit 'em': Top secret video showing U.S. helicopter pilots gunning down 12 civilians in Baghdad attack leaked online", [mailonline.co.uk](mailto:mailonline.co.uk); last updated at 9:19 AM on 7th April 2010.
- 20- Simon Harrison "Skull Trophies of the Pacific War: transgressive objects of remembrance" Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S) 12, 817-836 (2006) p.828 Source, Wikipedia.
- 21-Tanaka, Toshiyuki. Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War II

ENDS

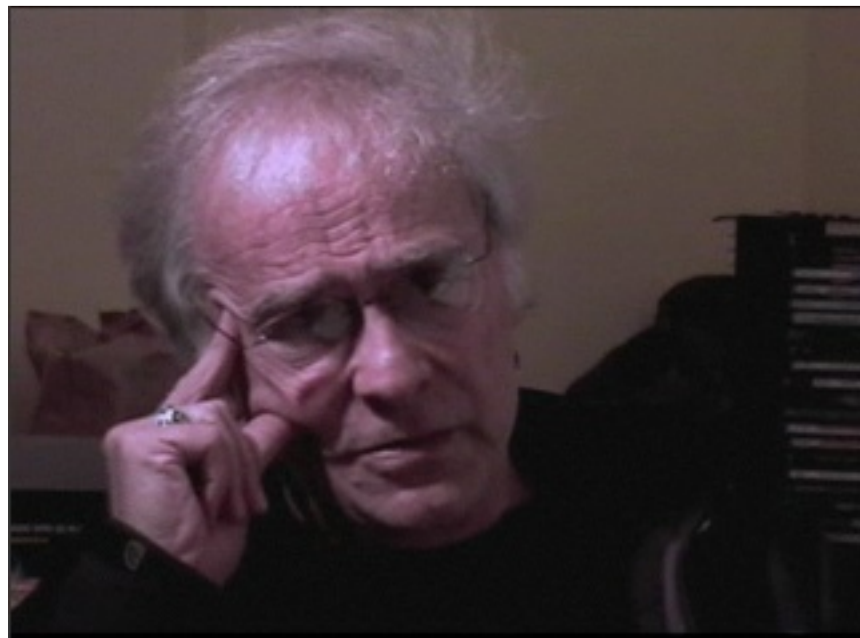


*Honourable Mention:*

# Indy Radio Broadcaster - Mike Malloy

## *A Voice of Euro-Settler Reason*

ONE OF THE VERY FEW EURO-AMERICAN RADIO CHAT HOSTS TO SPEAK HARD REALITY IN REGARDS TO THE MADNESS OF THE



US SOCIO-POLITICAL ARENA, ATLANTA'S MIKE MALLOY HAS BEEN CHALLENGING RIGHT-WING STUPIDITY FOR YEARS. SO, WHY HAVEN'T YOU HEARD OF HIM? TAKE A LISTEN AND YOU'LL UNDERSTAND WITHIN TEN MINUTES WHY THE NEO-CONFEDERATE LOBBY HATES HIM WITH THE SORT OF PASSION THEY USUALLY RESERVE FOR AMERICAN INDIANS, AFRICANS AND OTHER "LESSER" MINORITIES.

WHILE HIS PROVOCATIVE AND BITING COMMENTARY HAS BEEN CARRIED ACROSS US TALK-RADIO MARKETS UNDER VARIOUS OWNERS, (WSB (AM) ATLANTA, WLS (AM) CHICAGO, THE I.E. AMERICA RADIO NETWORK, THE AIR AMERICA RADIO NETWORK, NOVA M RADIO AND THE ON SECOND THOUGHT NETWORK) HIS IN-YOUR-FACE STYLE AND PARTISAN LEFT-WING POLITICAL LEANINGS HAS OFTEN OFFENDED THE SENSITIVITIES

OF HIS CORPORATE SPONSORS WHICH LED HE AND HIS WIFE, SHOW PRODUCED KATHY BAY, TO LAUNCH THEIR OWN SYNDICATED SHOW FROM A BASIC STUDIO IN THEIR PRIVATE HOME.

WE APPRECIATE HIS FRANKNESS, DIY ATTITUDE AND BRAVE IDEOLOGICAL WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS US RACIAL, ECONOMIC AND WARFARE QUESTIONS IN THE OPEN AND WITH THE CORRECT AMOUNT OF RIGHTEOUS ANGER ANY DECENT PERSON SHOULD HARBOUR TOWARDS SOCIAL AND HUMAN INJUSTICES. EVEN IF THESE NEGATIVES OCCUR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF A PURPORTEDLY "DEMOCRATIC" GOVERNMENT.

THE MALLOY RADIO PROGRAMME IS A SELF-SYNDICATED, INDEPENDENT MEDIA EFFORT AND THEY DESERVE THE PUBLIC SUPPORT. IF YOU CAN AFFORD TO, CONSIDER SUBSCRIBING TO THE MALLOY SHOW VIA [WWW.MIKEMALLOY.COM/](http://WWW.MIKEMALLOY.COM/) WHERE YOU CAN ALSO LISTEN TO THE SHOW VIA LIVE STREAM.

## *What's Next For* **Indigenist World?**

*We have no idea, so help us figure that one out. eMail your suggestions, stories, art, poetry, articles and other mental activity to:*

***editor.novajoservo@gmail.com***  
*(Be sure to include your crediting information)*

*This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike 3.0 Unported License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California, 94105, USA.*

*Produced with Open-Source and Freeware Materials*

**A Journal of Indigenous Anti-Colonialist Opinion**

